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# The Review of English Studies

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## A MIDDLE-ENGLISH PROSE LIFE OF ST. URSULA

By G. N. GARMONSWAY and R. R. RAYMO

A *Life of St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins* is to be found in the Henry E. Huntington MS. HM 140, a miscellany of prose and poetry, chiefly by Chaucer and Lydgate, in a variety of fifteenth-century hands. Manly and Rickert<sup>1</sup> have shown that the manuscript is made up of two separate books, the second of these consisting of a single gathering of paper running from f. 125 to f. 169<sup>2</sup> and containing *The Libell of English Policy* (ff. 125a-140a), a Latin prose version of Apollonius of Tyre (ff. 140b-153b), the *Ursula Life* (ff. 154a-155b) followed by two pieces of verse in her honour, the first in English (f. 155b)<sup>3</sup> and the second in Latin (f. 156a), and several other short pieces of a didactic character. *The Life of St. Ursula* is written in a typical hand of the third quarter of the fifteenth century, and this dating is supported by the presence of a watermark in use between 1456 and 1467.<sup>4</sup> Judging from mistakes in transcription (e.g. *the same* 142; *Rome verance* 219), the present text cannot be the original of the translation.

From internal evidence it would appear that William Turnar, physician and botanist (d. 1568),<sup>5</sup> once owned the two separate parts of the manuscript and bound them together with some additions.

Although St. Ursula was not as popular in England as many of her sister saints, to judge from the surprisingly general absence of her name in ecclesiastical dedications and devotional representations,<sup>6</sup> her legend was related in Latin prose by Geoffrey of Monmouth,<sup>7</sup> John of Tynemouth<sup>8</sup> (14th c.), and John Capgrave,<sup>9</sup> and in English verse in *The Early South-*

<sup>1</sup> J. M. Manly and E. Rickert, *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* (Chicago, 1940), i. 433-8.

<sup>2</sup> According to Manly ff. 124-68, and ff. 153-5 for *The Life of St. Ursula*.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, ed. T. Wright and J. O. Halliwell, ii (1843), 224.

<sup>4</sup> Briquet 3579 (Ciseaux).

<sup>5</sup> *D.N.B.* We are indebted to Professor Bruce Dickins for the identification. According to G. C. Macaulay, Turnar also possessed a copy of Gower's *Vox Clamantis*.

<sup>6</sup> F. Arnold-Foster, *Studies in Church Dedications* (London, 1889), ii 534; F. Bond, *Dedications and Patron Saints of English Churches* (Oxford, 1914), p. 143; J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Legendary History of Britain* (Berkeley, 1950), p. 239 and n. 40.

<sup>7</sup> *Historia Regum Britanniae*, ed. A. Griscom (London, 1929), v 15-16.

<sup>8</sup> John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium Angliae* (MS. Bodl. 240 et al.) is a collection of 156 saints' lives with other illustrative tales. See G. H. Gerould, *Saints' Legends* (Boston, 1916), pp. 197-8; J. T. Welter, *L'Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1927), p. 161.

<sup>9</sup> *Nova Legenda Angliae* (London, 1516), pp. 316-28.

*English Legendary*<sup>1</sup> (13th c.) and by Osbern Bokenham<sup>2</sup> and Edmund Hatfield<sup>3</sup> (15th c.). It is impossible to establish the factual basis of the legend, and difficult to trace its development and growth. As might be expected from the man, Geoffrey's account, both circumstantially and in setting and motivation, differs widely from the traditions crystallized in *The Golden Legend* and its imitators.<sup>4</sup>

Our text is, to the best of our knowledge, the first version in English prose. Like the narratives in *The Early South-English Legendary* and in Bokenham, it is based on *The Golden Legend*, as will be clear from the parallel texts set out below. The translator has somewhat abridged his source, telescoping and rearranging, and inserting short phrases to clarify his meaning and to point a moral. The accounts of Ursula's visionary appearances after death to certain religious, which conclude the *Life* in *The Golden Legend*, find no place in the English version. Many pseudo-historical details are missing: the construction of Ursula's armada, the *mystique* of the sisterhood, the great concourse of spectators from the Continent to Britain to observe its growth and to partake in its sports and chivalric games, the mention of Tiel in Holland (Gelderland)<sup>5</sup> as a port of call, the Curia's lack of sympathy for the sisterhood after Pope 'Ciriacus' had resigned and their wanton deletion of his name from the *Liber Pontificalis*, and, finally, the omission of the catalogue of pilgrim martyrs. In general, therefore, the translator, though not always equal to his task, has made a creditable attempt to simplify the story and to disencumber it of superfluous particulars. Nor has he anglicized the Latin mechanically, but has made of it a fresh and unslavish version in the vernacular, though his

<sup>1</sup> Ed. C. Horstmann, E.E.T.S., o.s. 87 (1887), pp. 86-92, C. d'Evelyn and A. J. Mill, E.E.T.S. 236 (1956), pp. 443-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Lives of Holy Women*, ed. M. S. Serjeantson, E.E.T.S. 206 (1938), pp. 86-98.

<sup>3</sup> Wynkyn de Worde's edition (c. 1500) of Hatfield's *Life of St. Ursula* was printed by the Roxburghe Society (xxiv, 1818), from the unique copy in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire.

<sup>4</sup> Mary (Mrs. T. F.) Tout, 'The Legend of St. Ursula and The Eleven Thousand Virgins', in *Historical Essays* (Manchester, 1907), pp. 29-30; J. S. P. Tatlock, op. cit., pp. 236-41. Mrs. Tout's article is also the best general introduction in English to a study of the ramifications of the legend. For fuller treatment, see W. Levison, *Das Werden der Ursula-Legende* (Cologne, 1928), of which there is an informative review by M. Coens in *Analecta Bollandiana*, xlvii (1929), 89-110, and G. de Tervarent, *La Légende de Ste. Ursule* (Paris, 1931). It is plausible to think that the story has its origins in pagan myth. We might note that the heroine's name, a diminutive of the Latin *ursa* 'bear', is cognate with the Irish *art* and possibly with the Greek *Artemis*, the goddess of chastity, in whose honour her votaries, particularly the Amazons, performed their ritual games and dances (cf. L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, ii (Oxford, 1896), 435-6; Hastings' *Encyclopaedia*, under 'Artemis' and 'Amazons'). The parallel to the games and exercises practised by Ursula and her companions before their departure from Britain, particularly in the Latin account of the 'goostly chevalry' (see below, p. 357, l. 83 ff.), is striking.

<sup>5</sup> J. G. Th. Graesse, *Orbis Latinus* (Berlin, 1909), p. 303, under *Tiela*.



boldness in this direction occasionally leads to a loss of clarity because of his inability to control his periods and to co-ordinate his sentences.

Apart from a few unusual forms, such as *sparred* and *hard*, which possibly indicate a more northerly provenance, the dialect is not inconsistent with what might be expected from a mid-fifteenth-century work written in the east Midlands. It is impossible to determine the precise date of composition, but from two or three verbal echoes of Bokenham it is likely to have been written after 1447.<sup>1</sup> The works of these three authors on St. Ursula, as well as her appearance in church iconography and religious calendars all at much the same period, suggest an awakening in England of interest in her legend.<sup>2</sup> On the Continent several pro-feminist treatises had appeared during the fifteenth century as counterblasts to 'the unceasing attacks of satirical writers, and in answer to the censures on the sex contained in religious works'.<sup>3</sup> As Conor Fahy has pointed out, most of the available material on the subject was collected in such compilations as Christine de Pisan's *Cité des Dames* (1404-5) or Martin le Franc's *Champion des Dames* (1430-40)—in the first of these Ursula and her companions are summoned into the city with a brief citation of their claims to citizenship. Treatises arguing the superiority of women prompted the compilation of 'examples' of famous women: such works had become very popular in Europe after Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*. Several<sup>4</sup> were written about the time of our *Life of St. Ursula*, and no doubt provided a motive for its composition.

*The Life of St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins*<sup>5</sup>

<p>[f. 154a]. There was in Brytayne a kyng, the moost Cristen prynce, whose name was Nothus vel Maurus, that hadde a doughter named Vrsull, the</p>	<p>Undecim millium virginum passio hoc ordine celebrata fuit. In Britannia namque rex Christianissimus quidam fuit nomine Nothus</p>
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<sup>1</sup> Bokenham, pp. xix-xx. For the similarities, see the notes after the text.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery* (Oxford, 1936), p. 238; J. A. Knowles, *The York School of Glass-Painting* (London, 1936), pp. 178-9; Bond, op. cit., pp. 141-3, 306; Arnold-Foster, op. cit., ii. 534, iii. 100; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi. 765; 'Welsh Church Dedications' (*Trans. Cymmrodorion Society*, 1908), p. 106; F. Wormald, ed., *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100* (London, 1939-46), i. 93, 109, 126, ii. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Conor Fahy, 'Three Early Renaissance Treatises on Women', *Italian Studies* (Manchester, 1956), xi. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Fahy notes the following: Alvaro de Luna, *Libro de las claras . . . mugeres* (1446), Antonio Cornazzano, *De Mulieribus admirandis* (c. 1467), and Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Libro delle lodi* (c. 1480).

<sup>5</sup> The *Life* is reproduced by the kind permission of The Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The punctuation and the use of capitals are modern, and abbreviations are expanded. There is no title in the MS. At the end of the English text is a rubric which reads: 'Super hac materia habetur narracio in legenda auria.' The Latin text of the *Legenda aurea* is taken from Th. Graesse's third edition (Breslau, 1890), cap. clviii, 701-4. We have to thank Professor Norman Davis and Mr. H. E. Schultz for their advice on palaeographical matters.

5 which virgyn was of so grete goostly  
 vertue and bodely beaute thorowe  
 grace and yifte of God that hur name  
 and good fame was knowen in many  
 londys. And among all other the kyng  
 10 of Englund that was so myghty and had  
 brought many other nacions vnder his  
 honde, when he hard the worthy fame  
 of this gracious virgin, he thought that  
 wele were hym yf his sonne and heire  
 15 myght haue her to maryage; and also  
 the kyngis sonne desyrede hugely the  
 same. Wherefore solempne messages  
 were made to the seid kyng of Brytayne  
 for his doughter Vrsull with many grete  
 20 plesaunt promysions, and in that other  
 syde with many sore thretenynges yf  
 he wold not consent therto. Of the  
 which messages this Cristen prynce and  
 king of Brytayne was dredefull astuned  
 25 for iij notable causes: first, for he  
 thought full vnworthy and inconuenient  
 to take his doughter that was cristened  
 to an oncristened prynce as the same  
 kynges son was; the seconde, for he  
 30 knewe well that his doughtir Vrsull  
 wold neuer consent therto; and the  
 thirde, he drad sore the kyng of Englund  
 with his fers thretenynges. Neuerthelesse  
 this blessed virgyn Vrsull comforted her  
 35 fader in the best wyse, and as she was  
 enspired of God counseld hym to graunte  
 the kyng of Englund petycion, vnder  
 such a condycion that the same kyng of  
 Englund and her owne fader, kyng of  
 40 Bretyne, wolde assigne to her for her  
 solas and comfort x the fairest and  
 worthiest virgins that myght be founde,  
 and both to her-self and to euery of  
 theise othir x a thousand other virgyns,  
 45 and to graunte tham all respite and  
 leysour of iij yere to make them redy for  
 their dedicacion of their virginite so that  
 the kyngis son mought in the meene  
 tyme be baptized and enfourmed in the  
 50 Cristen feith of Holy Chirche. And this  
 she dyd of grete wisdom and discrecion  
 to preue yf they wolde leue their pur-  
 pose and desire thurgh difficulte of so  
 streite condicions, or ellis that she

vel Maurus, qui quandam filiam  
 nomine Ursulam generavit. Haec  
 mirabili morum honestate, sapientia  
 et pulchritudine pollebat, ita quod  
 ejus fama ubique volabat. Rex  
 autem Angliae, cum nimis prae-  
 potens esset et multas nationes suo  
 imperio subjugaret, audita hujus  
 virginis fama beatum se per omnia  
 fatebatur, si praedicta virgo suo  
 unigenito copularetur. Juvenis  
 etiam ad hoc plurimum aestuabat.  
 Mittunt igitur solemnes nuntios ad  
 patrem virginis, magnis promissio-  
 nibus et blanditiis magnas ad-  
 jicientes minas, si ad dominum  
 suum vacui revertantur. Rex autem  
 coepit plurimum anxari, tum quia  
 Christi fide insignitam cultori ydo-  
 lorum tradere indignum duceret,  
 tum quia ipsam nullatenus con-  
 sentire cognosceret, tum quia regis  
 ferocitatem plurimum formidaret.  
 Ipsa autem divinitus inspirata patri  
 suasit, ut praedicto regi assensum  
 praeberet, ea tamen conditione pro-  
 posita, ut ipse rex cum patre decem  
 virgines electissimas sibi ad solatium traderet, et tam sibi quam aliis  
 mille virgines assignaret et comparatis trieribus inducias triennii  
 sibi daret ad dedicationem suae  
 virginitatis, et ipse juvenis baptizatus in his tribus in fide instrueretur,  
 sapienti siquidem usus consilio, ut  
 aut difficultate propositae conditionis animum ejus ab hoc averteret  
 aut hac opportunitate praedictas virgines secum Deo dedicaret. At  
 juvenis libenter hac conditione accepta apud patrem institit et protinus  
 baptizatus accelerari cuncta, quae beata virgo praeceperat,  
 imperavit. Pater autem puellae ordinavit, quod filia sua, quam  
 valde diligebat, viros, quorum solatio tam ipsa quam ejus exercitus  
 indigebat, in comitatu suo haberet. Undique igitur virgines confluunt,  
 undique viri ad tam grande

55 mought thurgh suche occasion dedifie  
and vnto God so many holy virgyns with  
hur. And whan the kynges son of  
Englond harde all this he sparred for no  
thyng or cost, but anon made a grete  
60 instaunce to his fader [f. 154b] for to  
accepte the same condicions, and forth-  
with he hym-self was cristened in holy  
baptyme and ordeyned all thynges  
hastely to be spedde aftir the purpose as  
65 she desyred. But first the kyng of  
Brytayne ordeyned so for his dowghter  
Vrsul, whom he lovid so moche, that  
she had in her company full worthy men  
to kepe and strenght her in all good  
70 gouernaunce; and so all these virgyns  
were gadered and chosen oute of dyuers  
reames and came to-gyder in Brytayne,  
and among them all x the worthiest ladies  
dowghters were assigned to Vrsull and  
75 to euery of these xj M<sup>i</sup> virgynys, as it is  
seid byfore. At the last, whan Vrsull  
had conuerted all tho virgyns to Cristen  
feith that were not cristened afore, than  
bygan they to make their worshipfull  
80 mustraunce and assement to-gider  
in a marvelous wyse, as God inspired  
them to doo, in so much that many con-  
trayes and kyngdomes wondrid hougely  
of their soleyne and marvelous purpose.  
85 And also many worthy lordis and ladyes,  
both spirituall and temperall, came to  
Englond and Brytayne to se that newe  
goostly chevalry. And many of them  
whan they knewe their gracious purpose  
90 toke the same profession to goo with the  
same xj M<sup>i</sup> virgyns and to lyve and dye  
with them, as they all purposed in  
Goddes cause. And so, atte the last,  
when all necessary purviaunce was made  
95 redy for that iourney, as God had  
ordeyned to be doon, all this forseid  
multitude toke ther way by water, even  
by the cite of Coleyn. And there had  
Sent Vrsull reuelacion and warnyng by  
100 an angell that they all shuld fourth to  
Rome and come ageyn to Coleyn sauf  
and sounde in the same number of  
people, and there to take and suffre  
martirdam for Cristis sake. Of the which

spectaculum currunt. Nam multi  
episcopi ad eas confluerunt, ut  
secum pergerent, inter quos erat  
Pantulus Basileensis episcopus, qui  
eas usque Romam perduxit et inde  
reversus cum iis martirium suscepit.  
Sancta quoque Gerasina regina  
Siciliae, quae virum suum regem  
crudelissimum quasi de lupo fecerat  
agnum, soror Macirisi episcopi  
et Dariae matris sanctae Ursulae,  
cum eidem pater sanctae Ursulae  
secretum per litteras intimasset,  
continuo inspirante Deo cum quat-  
tuor filiabus suis, Babilla, Juliana,  
Victoria et Aurea, et parvulo suo  
Hadriano, qui amore sororum  
suarum ultro se peregrinationi  
ingessit, relicto regno in manu  
unius filii sui usque in Britanniam  
navigavit. Cujus consilio virgines  
de diversis regnis colligebantur et  
earum semper ductrix existens  
cum iis tandem martirium passa  
est. Juxta conductum igitur vir-  
ginibus, trieribus et sumptibus  
praeparatis commilitonibus suis  
regina secreta revelat, et in novam  
militiam omnes conjurant. Nam  
modo belli praeludia inchoant,  
modo currunt modo discurrent,  
interdum belli causa, plerumque  
fugam simulant omnique genere  
ludorum exercitatae nihil, quod  
animo occurrebat, relinquebant  
intactum, aliquando meridie, ali-  
quando vix vespere redibant. Con-  
fluebant proceres et primates ad  
tam grande spectaculum et omnes  
admiratione et gaudio replebantur.  
Tandem cum Ursula omnes vir-  
gines ad fidem convertisset, sub  
unius diei spatio flante prospero  
vento ad portum Galliae, qui  
Tyella dicitur, et inde Coloniam  
devenerunt, ubi Ursulae angelus  
domini apparuit et praedixit, eas  
illuc integro numero reversuras  
et coronas ibidem martirii per-  
cepturas. Inde igitur ad angeli

105 reuelacion and gracious tydynges they  
 all were ioyfull inowe, and anon fro  
 Coleyn they sayled to Basyle, of the  
 which citee the bisshop, whose name  
 was Pantulus, went with them in the  
 110 same purpose of martirdom, and so did  
 Gerasina, quene of Sisill, with her son  
 and iiij doughters that were nye cosyns  
 to Seynt Vrsull, and then they all levyng  
 their shippis att Basill and came to  
 115 Rome on their feet. Atte whos com-  
 myng, Ciriacus the pope, that boore was  
 in Brytayne and had many cosyns among  
 tho virgyns, was full gladde, and with all  
 the cleregy of his courte recevyng hem  
 120 all with grete worship. And in the  
 same nyght folowyng had he warnyng  
 by reuelacion that he shuld take martir-  
 dom with the same congregacion; the  
 which reuelacion he kepte pryvely a-  
 125 while till he had baptised many [f. 155a]  
 of tham that were not baptysed afore.  
 And then, whan he sawe his tyme in the  
 covent of all cardynallys, he declared  
 all his purpose, and resigned forthwith  
 130 the popys dignite and office. The same  
 tyme the wyked prynces of vncristened  
 paynemes, Maximus and Affricanus,  
 that where in Rome, considering the  
 grete multitude of virgyns and all other  
 135 people that drewe to them, had grete  
 dred lest Cristen relygyon and feith  
 shuld gretely encrece thorow their gouer-  
 nauce, yf they shuld longe tyme pro-  
 ceede as they began. Wherefore, whan  
 140 these seid prynces had aspid that all the  
 company wold turne ayene to Coleyn,  
 they sende massengers to per cosyn Iuly  
 that was a pryns of paynemes abought  
 that contrey, praiyng hym that, for  
 145 asmuch as they were Cristen people, he  
 shuld make ordynauce and strenght of  
 his cost to sle them all when they came  
 to Coleyn. And so, soon after, our holy  
 fader the pope, that was Ciriacus, toke  
 150 his iournay fro Rome toward Coleyn,  
 and a cardynall with hym, and an arche-  
 bisshop, and iiij other bisshoppes, with  
 the kinges dowghter of Costantynenoble  
 and xj M<sup>l</sup> virgyns with all their meyne,

admonitionem Romam tendentes  
 ad urbem Basileam applicuerunt et  
 ibidem relictis navibus Romam  
 pedestres venerunt. Ad quarum  
 adventum papa Cyriacus valde  
 gavisus, cum ipse de Britannia  
 oriundus esset et multas ibidem  
 inter eas consanguineas haberet,  
 cum omni clero ipsas summo cum  
 honore suscepit. In ipsa autem  
 nocte papae divinitus revelatur,  
 eum cum ipsis virginibus palmam  
 martirii percepturum. Quod apud  
 se celans multas ex ipsis, quae  
 adhuc baptizatae non fuerant,  
 baptizavit. Verum cum opportu-  
 num tempus videret, et anno uno  
 et undecim hebdomadibus post  
 Petrum ecclesiam decimus nonus  
 rexisset, in conventu omnium prae-  
 positum suum indicavit, et coram  
 omnibus et dignitati et officio re-  
 signavit. Sed cum omnes reclama-  
 rent et maxime cardinales, qui  
 eum delirare putabant, eo quod  
 relictis pontificatus gloria post quas-  
 dam mulierculas fatuas ire vellet,  
 ille nullatenus acquiescens quen-  
 dam virum sanctum, qui Ametos  
 dictus est, loco suo in pontificem  
 ordinavit, et quia sedem apostoli-  
 cam invito clero reliquit, nomen  
 ejus de catalogo pontificum idem  
 clerus abrasit omnemque gratiam,  
 quam sacer ille virginum chorus in  
 curia Romana habuerat, a tempore  
 illo amisit. Duo autem iniqui  
 principes Romanae militiae, scilicet  
 Maximus et Africanus, videntes  
 magnam multitudinem virginum  
 et quod multi multaeque ad eas  
 confluerent, timuerunt ne per eas  
 nimis cresceret religio christia-  
 norum. Quapropter iter earum  
 diligentius explorantes nuntios mi-  
 serunt ad Julium cognatum suum  
 principem gentis Hunnorum, ut  
 educto contra eas exercitu ipsas,  
 cum christianae essent, cum veni-  
 rent Coloniam, trucidaret. Beatus

155 and all other people that drowe to thaym  
byfore; the which number in all no  
creature knoweth, but oonly God. And  
in the mene tyme, as they were com-  
myng from Rome, the kyngys son of  
160 Englund, Etheryus, that shuld haue  
weddyd Seynt Vrsull, was warned by an  
angell of God that he shuld exorte his  
moder the quene to be cristened in  
holy baptyme, and then to make hym  
165 redy in all hast for to come and mete  
with Vrsull, his spouse, atte Coleyn, and  
there to take the crowne of holy martir-  
dome with her. His fadir the kyng was  
dede in the meen tyme, the first yere  
170 that he was cristened, and so Etheryus  
the son was kyng of Ingland the same  
tyme. And anon, as his moder was  
baptyzed, he went forth with his modir  
and his sistre and with a bisshop, whos  
175 name was Clement, and much other  
people of Englund. And then, at the  
last, whan both parties came and mette  
to-gyder at Coleyn, theire they fonde  
that worthy cite beseged with a numer-  
180 able oost of the forseid paynemes which  
were ordeyned afore thorowe warnyng  
of the two prynces to comme for the  
same iourney. And als sone as they  
sawe these ij partyes of so much Cris-  
185 ten people commyng to-gyder, they fell  
vpon them with an orible cryng and  
cruelte, as wolves vpon shepe, [f. 155b]  
and slewe them all, both men and  
wommen, offeryng that day to God in  
190 the blisse of heven a full precious and a  
plentyvous present, and yit a litill thanke  
ar noon had they for all their labours.  
But among all other, when Iuly, the  
prynce of paynemes of that cost, had  
195 aspied that holy lady and virgyn, Vrsull,  
[and] was hougly ravissid thurgh her  
grete bodely beaute, he desired .o haue  
had hur as for his wyf, and because [she  
wold] not in noo wyse consent therto,  
200 but dyspyed hym, he toke an arowe and  
smote her thorowe the body. And so  
she was wedded that day to the kyng  
of Englund full gloriously byfore the  
kyng of heven, whither she and all her

igitur Cyriacus cum illa nobili vir-  
ginum multitudine de urbe egres-  
sus est, secutus est autem ipsum  
Vincentius presbyter cardinalis  
et Jacobus, qui de Britannia patria  
sua in Antiochiam profectus archiepis-  
copatus dignitatem septem  
annis ibidem tenuit. Qui cum  
papam tunc temporis visitasset et  
jam urbem egressus de virginum  
adventu audiisset, concitus redi-  
it et itineris ac passionis se iis  
socium fecit. Maurisius quoque  
Levicanae urbis episcopus, avun-  
culus Babilae et Julianae, necnon  
et Follarius Lucensis episcopus  
et Sulpicius Ravennensis episcopus,  
qui tunc Romam advenerant,  
praedictis virginibus adhaeserunt.  
Ethereus quoque sponsus beatae  
Ursulae manens in Britannia per  
visionem angelicam a domino ad-  
monetur, ut matrem suam hortaretur  
fieri christianam. Nam pater  
ejus Ethereus primo anno quo  
christianus factus fuerat, mortuus  
est et filius ejus Ethereus eidem in  
regno successit. Cum autem sacrae  
virgines cum praedictis episcopis a  
Roma redirent, Ethereus a domino  
admonetur, ut protinus surgens  
sponsae suae occurrat, ut cum ea in  
Colonia martirii palmam accipiat.  
Qui divinis monitis acquiescens  
matrem suam baptizari fecit et cum  
ipsa et sorore sua parvula Florentina  
jam christiana necnon et Clemente  
episcopo ipsis virginibus obvians  
se ad martirium sociavit eisdem.  
Marculus quoque episcopus Grae-  
ciae et neptis sua Constantia, filia  
Dorothei regis Constantinopolitani,  
quae nubens cuidam adolescenti  
filio cujusdam regis, sed ante nup-  
tias morte praevento, virginitatem  
suam domino vovit, per visionem  
admoniti Romam venerunt  
et praedictis virginibus ad marti-  
rium se junxerunt. Omnes igitur  
virgines cum praedictis episcopis

205 felyship bryng vs all thurgh their virtues, merytes, and prayers.

That tyme all this holy multitude toke full patiently their martirdom for Cristen feith, o certeyn virgyn of tho xj M<sup>i</sup>,  
 210 whose name was Cordula, stale away pryvely and hid her-self in a ship all that nyght after for drede of dethe. But on the next morn after, she offered her-self frely to martirdom aftir all her felowes  
 215 that were offered afore, and so was she seruyd aftir her desire. And after that, she appered to a certeyn ancesse, warnyng her that her owne day shuld be kept in remembrance a morne after the  
 220 fest of the xj M<sup>i</sup> virgyns, whos passyon with all that other people that folowed was doon the yere of our Lord Iesu Criste CCXXXVIII.

Coloniam redierunt et ipsam jam ab Hunnis obsessam invenerunt. Quas barbari videntes super eas cum clamore nimio irruerunt et quasi lupi saevientes in oves totam illam multitudinem occiderunt. Cum autem ad beatam Ursulam caeteris jugulatis venissent, videns princeps ejus miram pulchritudinem, obstupuit et consolans eam super necem virginum promisit, quod eam sibi in conjugem copularet. Sed cum hoc illa penitus respuisset, ille contemptum se videns directa sagitta eam transfixit, et sic martirium consummavit. Quaedam autem virgo nomine Cordula timore perterrita in navi nocte illa se abscondit, sed in crastinum sponte morti se offerens martirii coronam suscepit. Sed cum ejus festum non fieret eo, quod cum aliis passa non esset, ipsa post longum tempus, cuidam reclusae apparuit, praecipiens. ut sequenti die a festo virginum ejus quoque sollemnitas recolatur. Pascae sunt anno Domini CCXXXVIII.

## NOTES

### *References are to lines of the English text*

29. seconde MS. soconde  
 41. Cf. Bokenham, *Lives*, 3195-7: Fyrst, I aske þat þei shul to me / Ten of þe choysesst maydyns sende, / And feyrest & wurthyest of pere cuntre.  
 52. they corrected from the  
 56. and: unnecessary to the sense, but retained as typical of the style of fifteenth-century translations. Cf. S. K. Workman, *Fifteenth Century Translation as an Influence on English Prose* (Princeton, 1940).  
 80. mustraunce: O.E.D. records forms of *Muster* in this sense from c. 1400 (Mandeville), but does not give this sense under *Monstrance*. assemblment MS. assemblment  
 107. Basyle: Basle.  
 108 ff. Cf. the Latin 57 ff.  
 111. Sisill: Sicily.  
 113. levyng: See Workman, *Translation*, pp. 122-47, for the use of participles for finite verbs.  
 119. recevyng: See note to 113.  
 120-3. Cf. Bokenham, 3300-2: And þe same nyht from heuene lernyd he / By reuelacyoun er þan he roos, / That wyth þese uirgyns he martyrd shuld be.  
 132. Maximus MS. Marymus  
 133. where: 'were'.

142. They sende *MS.* the same. The emendation is suggested by the Latin.  
153. Cf. the Latin 195-6.  
154. all *MS.* a  
168 ff. Cf. the Latin 178 ff.  
185. they *MS.* the  
189. offeryng: sardonically refers back to the Huns.  
200-1. Cf. Bokenham, 3433-7: But she wold no wyse to hym assente, / Wherfor in his grete malicoly / A myhty bowe anon he bente, / And wyth a sharpe arwe ful cruelly / He hir smote euyn progh þe body.  
216-17. Cf. Bokenham, 3451: Longe aftyr to ane holy recluse, suthly.  
217. certeyn *MS.* certey ancesse *MS.* ancesse  
219. remembrance *MS.* Rome verance



## THE METAPHYSIC OF LOVE

By A. J. SMITH

RECENT discussions of 'The definition of Love', as Marvell is conceived to have attempted it, turn one's mind back quizzically to the hoary old controversy over a still more sizeable treatment of the theme, never satisfactorily resolved. On Donne's much-teased 'The Extasie' opinion seems nowadays to have settled—out of sheer weariness one supposes. We content our minds with the comforting assumption that Donne in that poem quieted once for all the long tug of war between soul and body in human love, which so exercised Sidney and Spenser, to mention no more. Grierson's taut note is reassuringly behind us:

This is one of the most important of the lyrics as a statement of Donne's metaphysic of love, of the interconnexion and mutual dependence of body and soul.<sup>1</sup>

'Donne's metaphysic of love.' The poem is significant as the statement of a personal philosophical view; and by implication which we have not failed to draw, a revolutionary view at that. Take this with Grierson's further dicta—'a record of intense, rapid thinking', 'a . . . natural utterance of passion'<sup>2</sup>—and we are but a step from the emotional apprehension of thought. It was the late Professor G. R. Potter who added the indispensable Eliotian trimmings for us, in rebutting Legouis's heretical 'Don Juan' reading:

It seems to us the poem in which Donne came as close as he ever did to putting in words those subtle relations between the body and the mind of which he was conscious continually, and most keenly when he was most in love.<sup>3</sup>

Now we are given the record of an intense personal experience; and the 'metaphysics' become the product of a keen habit of introspection, the analysis of consciousness at the moment of an emotion which heightens it. How very modern, we all conclude, was Donne, and what a piece of original thinking the poem is! It is true that he expressed quite contrary notions of love elsewhere, at a time when he had much more claim to be considered as a thinker—the very notions he is here supposed to be scouting finally.<sup>4</sup> But that was on a public occasion; and a preacher learns to temper the wind.

Yet Professor Tuve has made it more difficult than it used to be, to

<sup>1</sup> *The Poems of John Donne* (Oxford, 1912), ii. 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxxiii.

<sup>3</sup> 'Donne's *Extasie Contra Legouis*', *P.Q.*, xv (1936), 247-53.

<sup>4</sup> See *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. Potter and Simpson, i. 134, and Sermon 5, pp. 236-51.

consider Donne as a startling revolutionary phenomenon. We are at least becoming aware, in general, that our primary office for this poet is not to invest him with current aims and seek covert reports on his psychological condition, but discarding our determinedly inward-focused modern spectacles, to establish a full technical context, and to trace material sources. And if we seek sources for the attitudes to love set out in 'The Extasie', we shall find them in plenty. Indeed, without the varied setting these provide, we may not hope to read the poem aright.

For the theory of love, as it was developed in sixteenth-century Italian writing, was by no means all of a Neoplatonic piece. As well as the Platonic Florence of Ficino there was the Aristotelian Padua of Sperone Speroni, not a whit less in following; and besides both there was the great synthetic source on which all subsequent sixteenth-century theorists, of all complexions, drew heavily, the *Dialoghi d'Amore* of the Spanish-born Italian Jew, Leone Ebreo (Jehudah Arbabnel). Between these schools (if one can call them anything so definite) there was a good deal of common ground, and where they differed was precisely in the degree of importance assigned to the body in love. Thus they were all agreed that love can be of several kinds, varying enormously in operations and effects. For Ficinians the general division tended, of course, to be between those whose love was a contemplation of the beauty of the soul alone—and ultimately an ascent to, and uniting with, the Divine Beauty—and those who cared for the body only, gross and bestial natures. Usually there was an intermediary condition, that of those who tried to love both body and soul. Some found two further species, making five in all. The Florentine Varchi divided the intermediary into 'courteous, or virtuous', when both are loved but the soul more than the body, and only with the senses of sight and hearing; 'human, or civil', when such lovers pass to the other, less spiritual senses as well; and 'plebeian, or vulgar', when both are loved, but the body more than the soul.<sup>1</sup> Aristotelians, on the other hand, tended to restrict themselves to two broad categories—the vulgar love whose end is simply the enjoyment of the body; and, to quote Tullia d'Aragona,

honest love, which is proper to noble men, that is those who have a gentle and virtuous soul, whether they are poor or rich; and which is not generated in desire, as the other, but by the reason.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, the two 'schools' were close enough in their overall view to permit a fairly general agreement on characteristics.

The characteristic commonly ascribed to the vulgar love was instability. 'All the things that delight our material sentiments, of their nature, when

<sup>1</sup> B. Varchi, 'Lezione sopra l'Amore', in *Lezioni* (Firenze, 1590), pp. 326-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Della Infinità di Amore*, in G. Zonta, *Trattati d'Amore del Cinquecento* (Bari, 1912), p. 222.

they are possessed are sooner abhorred than loved', said Leone Ebreo,<sup>1</sup> and Tullia tells us that it was the nature of the lower love in particular to be 'past reason hunted', and then 'past reason hated':

I say, that the carnal desire gratified, there is no one who does not instantly lose that will and appetite which so tormented and devoured him . . . not only does it put an end to love, but turns it to hate.<sup>2</sup>

There could be no permanency or fidelity, for revulsion immediately followed on attainment of the sole end. In higher conditions, on the other hand, the satisfaction of physical desire actually increased, not destroyed love—'And if the appetite of the lover is quite sated with the copulative union, and that desire, or properly, appetite, continently ceases, in no way is cordial love thereby diminished, rather is the possible union bound the closer.'<sup>3</sup> Some, Tullia among them, held that in good love the very physical appetite might increase by what it fed on, seeking bodily union all the more ardently for the pleasure once proved.

There was general agreement that the chief effect of the higher kinds of human love was the conjoining of the souls of the two lovers to make a perfect union, or unity. Indeed, love itself was commonly defined as a 'desire to unite oneself with the thing esteemed good', which 'would be the soul of the beloved'.<sup>4</sup> Speroni put it neatly when he said that lovers in a perfect love were joined so completely that they lost their proper semblance and became a strange third species, neither male nor female, resembling a hermaphrodite.<sup>5</sup> But the standard conceit was that such lovers' souls, transformed into each other by a kind of miracle, become 'one soul in two bodies',<sup>6</sup> and, as the younger Tasso put it, 'the lovers are not two, but one and four'.<sup>7</sup> This arithmetical juggling originated in Ficino's Commentary on the Symposium, and is elaborated at length by such Neoplatonists as Betussi. In essence it means simply that two souls, 'transformed together, the one into the other',<sup>8</sup> are made one; while each at the same time, having another soul added to it, becomes two, making four in all. Strange to think that so crudely sophistical an idea was quite literally intended! But at least its point was the emphasis on a conjoining of souls so perfect that 'they are united together in every part, and become mixed and intermingled'.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Dialoghi d'Amore*, ed. S. Caramella (Bari, 1921), p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Infinità*, p. 235.

<sup>3</sup> Leone Ebreo, *Dialoghi*, p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> G. Betussi, *Il Raverta*, in Zonta, *Trattati*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>5</sup> *Dialogo di Amore, Opere* (Venezia, 1740), i. 3.

<sup>6</sup> B. Gottifredi, *Lo Specchio d'Amore*, in Zonta, *Trattati*, p. 297.

<sup>7</sup> T. Tasso, *Conclusioni Amoroze*, in *Le Prose Diverse*, ed. C. Guasti (Firenze, 1875), ii. 68.

<sup>8</sup> F. Sansovino, *Ragionamento nel quale brevemente s'insegna a' giovani uomini la Bella Arte d'Amore*, in Zonta, *Trattati*, p. 180.

<sup>9</sup> Betussi, *Raverta*, p. 34.

Such a union of souls could not be consummated in a normal state; nor could the lovers, having achieved it, remain as they had been in their singleness. It required what Leone Ebreo called 'the ecstasy, or else alienation, produced by amorous meditation'.<sup>1</sup> This love-ecstasy was sometimes said to be brought on above all when 'we direct our eyes in the face, and in the eyes of the person who so much pleases us . . .', the effect of which was that, 'for the marvel of it we become as persons stupefied'. The spirit, 'almost fomented by the continued power of the fixed cogitation', continues Cattani, whose description this is, 'is no sooner affected by that effluence than it all but changes itself into the nature of the other'.<sup>2</sup> The state of 'privation of sense and movement'<sup>3</sup> thus induced permitted a condition of ecstatic mutual contemplation, in which one's soul left its body and remained 'outside the self, in that which it contemplates and desires':

For when the lover is in ecstasy, contemplating that which he loves, he has no care or memory of himself, nor does he perform any work in his own benefit, whether natural, sensitive, motive, or else rational. Rather is he quite alien to himself, and belongs to the object of his love and contemplation, into which he is totally converted.<sup>4</sup>

We are presented, in fact, with an analogy often explicitly confessed, and as exact as it could be made, between this secular state and the ecstasy of Divine Contemplation, 'when as the Servants of God were taken up in spirit, separate as it were from the body, and out of the body, that they might see some heavenly mystery revealed unto them'.<sup>5</sup> And as the outcome of the 'divine vision' which temporarily united the soul with the great Fount of Truth, was that 'all things are seen most perfectly',<sup>6</sup> so in a suitably humbler way of this. Sometimes the increase of knowledge was material. Following Ficino, writers describe a general exchange and mixing of the beauties of bodies and souls, in which love either 'levels every inequality, and reduces them to parity, to unite them perfectly, and make not union, but unity',<sup>7</sup> or produces a third thing 'finer than they had been separately made', as in 'a compounding of the voice with the lute, of perfume with perfume'.<sup>8</sup> The virtuous lover, knowing that 'love raises souls to high things',<sup>9</sup> might indeed deliberately seek this condition 'to make himself more perfect in the union with the soul of the beloved', for 'always the lover desires to be made participant in that which he lacks, and knows or believes

<sup>1</sup> *Dialoghi*, p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> F. Cattani, *I Tre Libri d'Amore* (Vinegia, 1561), pp. 119-20.

<sup>3</sup> Leone, *Dialoghi*, p. 173.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176.

<sup>5</sup> J. Weemes, *A Treatise of the Foure Degenerate Sonnes* (Edinburgh, 1636), pp. 72-73.

<sup>6</sup> Leone, *Dialoghi*, p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> T. Tasso, *Le Considerazioni sopra Tre Canzoni di M. Gio. Battista Pigna*, in Guasti, *Prose*, ii. 92.

<sup>8</sup> S. Speroni, *Opere*, i. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Betussi, *Raverta*, p. 95.

to abound in the beloved'.<sup>1</sup> But some writers describe as well a superior illumination, produced 'when the superior loves the inferior in all the first semicircle, from God down to the prime material'.<sup>2</sup> Again the necessary step to it was the uniting of loving souls. 'There is no perfection or beauty that does not increase when it is communicated, for the fruitful growth is always more handsome than the sterile', said Leone Ebreo; and he made the essence of his ecstatic intercommunion a mystical sharing of some part of the Divine Beauty and Wisdom:

And so it happens of man with woman; that knowing her in exemplary fashion he loves and desires her, and from love passes to the unitive cognition, which is the end of desire. . . . This great love and desire causes us to be abstracted in such contemplation that our intellect is raised up; and in such a way that, illuminated by a singular divine grace, it comes to know things above human power and speculation; as happens in such union and copulation with the Highest God. . . .

Moreover, this exalted state achieved, the love was thereby irrefrangibly proof against decline, for 'without end is the perfect desire, which is to enjoy union with the loved person'.<sup>3</sup>

Here was the more important ground, and in the main it was common. Some account of the body's part, and therefore of its relation to the soul, was needed. There were in fact few writers on love who steadily discounted the body. Ficino was one. For him the soul is the whole man, and the body its poor instrument—or as the figure was, its prison. But if this was a rare severity, the Florentine account of the vital linking of two such different essences was generally followed. The linking agent, the 'knot between the soul and the elemental body',<sup>4</sup> was the 'spirit', which was 'a certain extremely subtle and lucid vapour, generated by the heat of the heart from the most subtle part of the blood'.<sup>5</sup> This 'spirit' at once 'transfuses the life' from the soul to the body, and, 'being spread through all the members, takes the *virtu* of the soul, and communicates it to the body'. Conversely, it 'takes again, by the instruments of the senses, the images of outside bodies', which the soul is not gross enough to contact directly, and presents them to it 'as in a mirror', for judgement.<sup>6</sup>

Such spirits were thus necessary intermediary agents between the soul and each of the senses, and each of the faculties of the man. The purer Ficinians drew no corollary which might diminish the essential independence of soul. The limit of their admission concerning the two elements was that 'a powerful alteration of the one' might 'make its way to the other'.<sup>7</sup> With the renewed favour of Aristotle in the sixteenth century, however,

<sup>1</sup> Betussi, *Raverta*, pp. 23, 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 384, 43, 51.

<sup>3</sup> M. Ficino, *Sopra lo Amore* (Lanciano, 1914), p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> Cattani, *Tre Libri*, p. 111.

<sup>5</sup> Leone, *Dialoghi*, p. 383.

<sup>6</sup> Cattani, *Tre Libri*, p. 111.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112.

and following the strong example of Leone Ebreo, writers tended to be syncretic. Even professing Neoplatonists discarded Ficino's strict separatism. Leone's own view was eccentrically non-Christian, founded in the common notion that the soul is 'mixed of elements, or else principles, discontinuous and separate the one from the other',<sup>1</sup> but affirming this mixture to be of elements of intellect and body, which fitted it to mediate between the two. Christian Aristotelians had Aquinas behind them.

The vital Thomist denial of the position that the body is *dross* is grounded precisely in the Aristotelian affirmation of the absolute interdependence of soul and body. Man is not 'a combination of two substances but a complex substance which owes its substantiality to one only of its two consecutive principles'. An intellect without a body would be impotent, cut off from the sensible world, and in order to communicate with matter must 'descend, so to speak, into the material plane'. For these Aristotelian intellects Aquinas substitutes immortal souls, whose imperative need of the co-operation of sense-organs he thus affirms:

in order to obtain this co-operation they actualise matter; it is due wholly to them that this matter is a body; and yet they are not themselves save in a body; the man, therefore, is neither his body, since the body subsists only by the soul, nor his soul, since this would remain destitute without the body: he is the unity of a soul which substantialises his body and of the body in which this soul subsists.<sup>2</sup>

To trace the wash of this teaching in sixteenth-century writings on love, one need hardly canvass extreme opinions—the heretical Giordano Bruno's denial of the essential contrariety of body and soul,<sup>3</sup> or even Tullia's affirmation that self-evidently, 'all the compound, that is the soul and the body together, is more noble and more perfect than the soul alone'.<sup>4</sup> Equicola, a standard authority, found 'the great friendship and union which is seen between the body and the soul' to be so close that 'while this organic member is in being, one cannot think of the action of the soul apart from the body, much less separate them; nor can that of the body be considered without the soul'.<sup>5</sup> Aristotelian Padua naturally approved a close integration of the hypostatic union, and consequent raising of the status of the flesh. 'I say then', said its spokesman, the revered Speroni, 'that our soul, in understanding, has already used the organs of the external and internal sentiments, nor may it understand without those; but those serve it in understanding, supplying it with the species, without which it does not understand. And therefore it is said, and truly, that the man understands

<sup>1</sup> The phrase is Varchi's, in 'Dell'Anima', *Lezioni*, p. 721.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to M. Étienne Gilson's discussion of this point in ch. ix of *The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy* (1936), from pp. 186–8 of which the quotations are taken.

<sup>3</sup> *De Gl'Heroici Furori* (Torino, 1928), p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> *Infinità*, p. 197.

<sup>5</sup> M. Equicola, *Libro di Natura d'Amore* (Vinegia, 1526), f. 110<sup>v</sup>.



and not the soul.<sup>1</sup> It is more impressive that writers in the other camp should have concurred to the extent of following this crude empiricism, even if it was 'as philosophers and not as Christians'. Varchi starts from just Speroni's position—'our soul being incapable of understanding anything without the sense'; and his conclusion would have won Locke's applause:

all those things which sense cannot feel and apprehend, the intellect cannot treat of or understand, for there is never anything at all in the intellect which has not first been in sense.<sup>2</sup>

The part Neoplatonists assigned to the body in love was that described in the famous notion of the steps. One ascended by stages from the lowest to the highest, at each stage seeking the appropriate form of union with the loved object. Pleasure in the physical beauty of one's mistress led to the contemplation of her true beauty—that of her soul—and this, ultimately, to the ecstatic vision of the Eternal Beauty. Every step transcended the previous one, which was then rejected. The body was the lowest step, and only beasts and the vulgar went no higher; nevertheless, it was still initially necessary, 'as prospect of truth',<sup>3</sup> physical beauty in some way shadowing forth the beauty of the soul. This splendidly impossible view was certainly influential, but in Italian writing it could not long remain undiluted, or indeed uncontradicted. Petrarchans, predisposed to the sublimated love of Neoplatonism, yet commonly admitted that in love 'one does not love the soul alone', saving their allegiance by adding 'but principally, and more the soul than the body'.<sup>4</sup> Torquato Tasso himself had maintained as a youth the vanity of the opinion that one could love the soul, or virtue alone, and in his soberer age would say only that if bodily intercourse was not necessary to the union of souls, it could be desired as an accessory and sign of that.<sup>5</sup>

But in fact there was authority as considerable as Ficino's for quite another view than his. Leone Ebreo, owing as little to a celibate as to a courtly tradition, had provided an account which satisfied less rarefied demands. While not conceding in the slightest that physical union might be the final end of a perfect love, he was emphatic that it is for a number of reasons to be sought. Amorous acts bind the knot faster. They are signs that the love is fully reciprocal. They allow the consummation of the union, which is not complete with the fusion of souls but requires the coupling of bodies, 'to the end that no diversity may remain'. Above all, the spiritual condition itself is deficient until the bodies are united, for

with the correspondence of the bodily union, the spiritual love is augmented and made more perfect, just as the understanding of prudence is perfected when it is answered with due works.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Discorso dell' Anima Umana, Opere*, iii. 370.

<sup>2</sup> Betussi, *Raverta*, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> *Conclusioni, Considerazioni, in Prose*, ii. 67, 89.

<sup>4</sup> *Lezioni*, pp. 371, 612.

<sup>5</sup> Varchi, *Lezioni*, p. 381.

<sup>6</sup> *Dialoghi*, p. 50.



This was not the first time that physical conjunction had been recognized as a means to the higher union. The great Bembo himself had remarked the power of the kiss to draw forth souls by the lips, and in chaste love, to join them.<sup>1</sup> But here, in the most quoted and praised of all sixteenth-century writers on the subject, was the theoretical justification of lovers whose 'every love is desire, and every desire is love',<sup>2</sup> an account of the body's part which held good for the common state of secular love. Ficino had seemed to find no connexion between love and the procreation of kind, and was concerned with human relationships only as a means of achieving mystical states. If later writers had followed him they would never have thought of praising love for its work in drawing mankind to temperate coitus, as did even Betussi,<sup>3</sup> nor of adding with Equicola that abstention is actually bad, and for women in especial.<sup>4</sup> But beyond easing such adjustments in the name of practical sense, Leone's view lent weight to the balance at a decisive point. There was a calculated rejection of Ficino behind subsequent reaffirmations that, together with spiritual union, a lover desires also the union of bodies 'to make himself, to the limit of his power, one self-same thing with the beloved'.<sup>5</sup> Aristotle in fact now supplanted Plotinus as the philosopher in vogue. It was to be a severe stricture on Leone himself that he 'said many things which were not peripatetic'.<sup>6</sup>

One further step was possible, the making of the perfect love of souls actually inseparable from, or dependent upon, the love of bodies. It was taken; and became as a matter of course the standard Aristotelian teaching. The entire philosophy of 'that prince of philosophers Aristotle', declared Equicola, shows that the man is soul and body together, constituents whose actions are indivisible in love as in all else. To love truly is necessarily to love both, for 'Love is of soul and body, and the operations of the soul depend on the body'. It follows that 'the one ministers to the other in voluptuousness, and to delight the one without the other is impossible'.<sup>7</sup> Such a view was bound to recommend itself beyond the study walls of Padua and Ferrara. Nothing better shows the syncretism of later writers than that a Florentine Platonist should have recommended it to his own Accademia in expounding Petrarch—though without altogether denying his birthright. Varchi's unusually refined analysis of the types of love enabled him to declare that it was just the human sort, 'when some man loves some woman again, in good love', which could not be perfected unless the union was total, and entire, 'that is, if as one first conjoins the souls, one does not conjoin the bodies too'. But his reason hardly admitted of practical

<sup>1</sup> Cit. G. Toffanin, *Il Cinquecento* (Milano, 1941), p. 141. See also Castiglione, *Il Libro del Cortegiano*, ed. V. Cian (Firenze, 1947), pp. 489-90.

<sup>2</sup> *Dialoghi*, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> *Natura*, f. 111<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 224.

<sup>5</sup> *Raverta*, p. 140.

<sup>6</sup> *Tullia, Infinità*, p. 223.

<sup>7</sup> *Natura*, f. 197<sup>r</sup>.

distinction, for it was that body and soul are so united while we live that no entity could be more one.<sup>1</sup>

This being the Aristotelian response to the notion of the stairs, Speroni's adoption of that figure in his assault on spurners of the body is particularly pointed. The senses, he says, provide 'stair and path' to the reason, but all the senses and not just sight and hearing. Moreover, it is a step that you have to take every time you want to get there:

Whoever is such a fool in love that he has no care of his appetite, but as simple disembodied intelligence seeks solely to satisfy his mind, can be compared to him who, gulping his food without touching it or masticating it, more harms than nourishes himself.

Human beings in love are 'centaurs', their reason and desires inextricably mixed.<sup>2</sup> Love's hermaphrodite, ultimate perfection of human lovers, will not be made with souls, or minds, alone.

Such were the ideas which the Italians passed to the rest of Europe, providing in this field, as in so many others, a varied and malleable body of public material. Donne, whether or not he actually read any of the quoted writers, was patently among their beneficiaries. My concern now is to see how he drew on and handled these common positions in 'The Extasie'—that is to say, taking account of the circumstances of his day in England, by what means he made them into a witty poem.

Donne's individual contribution to the theory of love in this poem is, to all appearances, not great. He confines himself to an eclectic use of sources; and one's attention is on the whole less usefully directed to what he used than to how he used it. In other words, it is in that measure a typical piece of witty writing.

What this meant for Donne's age one sees at once in the first episode, lines 1 to 12. The matter is a treatment of the ecstasy-inducing disposition of the lovers' bodies, as Cattani and others described it; but it is tricked out with every convenient quirk of current poetic wit. It seems that Donne's is here an art of embellishment, no less than that of the courtliest Petrarchist, different in that he preferred another means to the elegances, flowers, harmonies, and the like recommended by the Italian theorists of Imitation. The situation is, of course, stereotyped and emblematic<sup>3</sup>—what the rhetoricians called a *topothesia*—and it serves to introduce the general theme. 'Pillow' and 'Pregnant banke' provide erotic motivation, while the violet, 'pleasing flower dedicated to Venus',<sup>4</sup> is emblem of faithful love.

<sup>1</sup> *Lezioni*, p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> *Opere*, i. 6, 22-23.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Sidney's 'In a Grove Most Rich of Shade', and such conventional descriptions of setting as that for the 'amorous monologue' in Scaliger, *Poetices*, i. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Equicola, *Natura*, f. 164<sup>r</sup>.

A little play on some stock Petrarchan properties touches off the description of the ecstatic posture in lines 5-8, to the end of showing the depth and fixity of the trance. The sweat of the conventionally-joined hands becomes an immovable cement, and the adaptation of an extravagant form of the old play on eye-beams permits the coupling of the contemplating eyes. One surely need not cavil at this latter figure. It is ridiculous only if treated as an 'image', and quite adequately performs its near-emblematic function, while not being markedly different from those common witty plays of the time in which a figurative account is treated as though it were literally intended:

So with the course of Nature doth agree,  
That Eies which Beauties Adamant do see  
Should on Affections line tremblingly remayne.<sup>1</sup>

At all events, this form of coupling would have satisfied an Aristotelian only as a preliminary, and in concluding his first section Donne unambiguously motivates his later position. A deft exploitation of the even more familiar Petrarchan play of the picture in the eye enables him to refer to the normal end of physical union, and the whole extent of the present deficiency is shown. Moreover, his 'as yet', in line 9, promises a remedy.

The description of the emanation and coupling of souls properly follows that of the bodies, left vacant, immobile, and dumb, 'like sepulchral statues'. It is done with what is surely comic literalness—the souls hanging out like the Homeric (and emblematic) scales between the waiting bodies. Donne may perhaps have meant here that so far their souls are like the pans of the scales, joined though not one thing. But at least the following lines show that no element of contention is intended; and the only other meaningful point of the simile would seem to be the clever parenthesis, 'which to advance their state, / Were gone out'. These powers seek to augment themselves by the closest alliance, not at each other's expense. The notion is that of the perfecting power of the ecstatic union.

The orderly development of the figure is now momentarily interrupted by the introduction of a privileged overhearer of the spiritual communion. It is an amusing and also a pointed device. Donne is able at once to claim that there is a kind of arcanum of love, a soul-language for initiates, and, parenthetically, to assert the perfect oneness of these loving souls. But he has another point too, no less neatly made. This bystander is an initiate, and some way advanced in the mystery—besides being 'refin'd' by love, he has by his good love 'growen all minde'. Yet if he listens carefully here he will learn much; will indeed take 'a new concoction' ('the acceleration of anything towards purity and perfection', Johnson says),<sup>2</sup> and 'part farre

<sup>1</sup> 'To his Lady who had vowed virginity.' Anon., in *A Poetical Rhapsody* (1602).

<sup>2</sup> *O.E.D.* under *Concoction*, 2, lists contemporary uses in this sense.

purer than he came'. But the lovers who grew all mind in the process, spurning the body, were the strict Neoplatonists. Donne is certainly not condemning them. He only suggests pleasantly that they have still a great deal to learn, and that he is about to show them what it is.

With the opening of the chorus of souls, it is plain that the climax in this first half of the poem is to be the enunciation of the knowledge which has been granted to the lovers in their ecstasy—a revelation concerning their love, of course. Firstly, they see the inadequacy of their previous knowledge. What they love, they realize now, is not sex. Theirs is not the vulgar physical love, whose essence is individuality, differences, and instability, but something which brings together, and indissolubly mingles. 'So to one neutrall thing both sexes fit';<sup>1</sup> which thing is precisely Speroni's hermaprodite. The positive part of the new knowledge is simply their awareness of the fusing of their souls, and realization of its consequences. As the individual soul is already a mixture, so of these two souls Love has made a further mixture and they each become the other—an analogy from Plotinian metaphysics dresses up the 'one and four' of the theorists. Complementing each other, the deficiencies of their singleness are remedied; as a puny solitary violet grows and reproduces when set in company. The analogy this time is Leone Ebreo's, though more apt in service of the common point because Donne has introduced the emblematic violet. Finally, the results of these ameliorations and the core of the revelation, to the new composite soul is granted self-knowledge, the understanding of its own nature. It is, simply, souls; and souls are such as 'no change can invade'. They are assured (albeit by a sleight of wit) of their own eternal fidelity, that unending mutual enjoyment which Leone declared to be the outcome and guerdon of perfect desire.

One is not unprepared for Donne's return to the incompletely united bodies. But his transition is dramatic, and the rhetoric of memorable cadence. His concern now, in this latter part of the poem, is to develop the assertion that the lovers' state cannot be perfect while their bodies remain in unsatisfied singleness. This he does by stages. We are given first a few simple puffs of the body; then the negative claim that the sexual coupling of the bodies does not actually prevent the union of souls; and finally—save for a few small concluding points—the full affirmation. The treatment in lines 51–56 of the notion that the body is ready instrument of the soul is not remarkable. What is curious is to find Donne all but compromising his argument, and certainly reducing its possible effectiveness, by his apparent adoption of the Augustinian—and Ficinian—dichotomy in this section: 'They are ours, though they are not wee.' This is much more like Ficino's 'the soul is the man' than Speroni's figure of the centaur, and

<sup>1</sup> 'The Canonisation'.

Aquinas's assertion that the man is neither body or soul alone, but a complex of both. It is, I suppose, with the analogy of 'intelligences' and 'spheres',<sup>1</sup> capable of bearing a Thomist construction. 'They are not wee'—we are no more bodies alone than we are souls alone. But there would seem a maladroitness in that way of presenting it unlooked for in so accomplished a rhetorician, and it may be thought more likely that Donne simply balked at professing the full Thomist position. If that is so, we have a rare hint of his private metaphysical views.

The analogy of 'heavens influence' in lines 57-58 is alien to the love-theorists, but remote in neither of its possible senses. The planets, influencing man, commonly do so by the grosser medium of air. And heavenly beings in their earthly visitations take up and wear the air, so as to make themselves visible to men: 'Then as an Angell, face, and wings / Of aire, not pure as it, yet pure doth weare. . . .'<sup>2</sup> The implication is that if the stars, and even God and the angels, do not disdain to work their spiritual ends through a less spiritual medium, then these lovers should not either. Certainly its use cannot frustrate such refined motions.

Donne chooses to support his climax with an analogy produced from the odd notion of intermediary spirits; and the claim is less convincingly made than if he had stated it baldly. His metaphysics are ordinary in doctrine as in production.<sup>3</sup> He has merely made a pleasant (or perhaps tendentious) figure of that physiological explanation of the hypostatic union, following the traditional terminology of man-making 'subtile knyttynge',<sup>4</sup> 'most subtle exhalation', and 'knot between the soul and the . . . body'.<sup>5</sup> The blood, personified, 'labours'; material itself, it deliberately strives to produce something nearer the nature of souls; it is its 'fingers' which knit the human knot. By this little quirk of wit, and an ambiguity (which may only be awkwardness) in the construction of the analogy, Donne does in fact suggest another argument than the expected one. He seems to be saying, 'Man's humanity is incomplete unless blood labours to beget spirits as like souls as it can'—does its best, that is, to produce souls. So 'pure' lovers are not completely lovers unless their fused souls, inciting and acting through their

<sup>1</sup> Grierson prints 'spheare' following all the manuscripts, whereas the editions give 'spheres'. His explanation of the singular form is that the bodies made one are the sphere in which the two Intelligences meet and command. This is attractive, but an anticipation of Donne's argument. John Hayward's adoption of 'spheares' in the Nonesuch Edition (*Complete Poetry and Selected Prose of John Donne*, 1929) seems justified.

<sup>2</sup> 'Aire and Angells'.

<sup>3</sup> The passage which Grierson cites from *Sermons*, 26. 20. 291 (Alford) in elucidation of this analogy is a simple fragment of the common teaching. In English there is a better account in *Nosce Teipsum* ('The passions of sense'), *The Poems of Sir John Davies*, ed.

C. Howard (New York, 1941), pp. 160-1.

<sup>4</sup> Chaucer, *Boece*, in *Works*, ed. F. N. Robinson (1933), p. 440b, l. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Cattani. See p. 366 above.

blood (affections, passions), labour in begetting, doing their best to produce souls.' But this is at most secondary. What his sources teach, and he presumably means in chief, is that as the soul would be impotent and incomplete were it not linked to the material body by an intermediary, and thus put in touch with the outside world of sense, so pure lovers are impotent and incomplete if their souls do not stoop to use an intermediary, by whose means they can reach sense and each other. These intermediaries are 'affections' and 'faculties'—terms, like 'sense', of apt double import. 'Sense' in particular, with its common sixteenth-century overtone 'sensuality', or 'sexual play',<sup>1</sup> would add the useful implication that it needs nothing short of full physical intercourse to liberate the joint souls of lovers.

There is also the famous figure of the 'great Prince in prison'. One wonders if this is intended to be just a fine and pithy confirmation of the claim that while the bodies do not join the souls cannot. Certainly it would be no novelty to speak of the soul as a Prince, nor of the body as its prison. But it is interesting to find Davies, in *Nosce Teipsum*, developing his long discussion of the interaction of soul and body through a similar figure of a great Prince in prison, and meaning something more subtle. 'This cunning mistress and this queen', he says, who lies in 'the body's prison', must look through the body's windows to know the world, and can discourse on and judge nothing but what sense reports to her. Yet the senses are only her instruments, which she uses for the humble task of garnering knowledge, while she 'sits and rules within her private bower', her sole function to 'judge and choose':

Even as our great wise *Empresse*, that now raignes,  
By *soveraigne* title over sundrie lands,  
Borrowes in meane affaires her *subiects* paines,  
*Sees* by their eyes, and writeth by their hands;

But things of waight and consequence indeed,  
Her selfe doth in her chamber them debate,  
Where all her Counsellors she doth exceed  
As farre in iudgement, as she doth in state.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, while the soul delegates only meaner matters to the sense, it cannot function without sense, any more than could a Prince deprived of her ability to act through executives. And the harm suffered by such an imprisoned Prince would be a loss of precisely that which makes her a Prince, her ruling power. So we may feel that Donne had precise attributes in mind when he called the new soul a great Prince. A Prince's chief attribute is ruling power; this she cannot exercise in prison. The chief attribute of a lover's

<sup>1</sup> O.E.D., *Sense* sb. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Poems*, p. 127. Davies and Donne are likely to have moved in the same circle.



soul is its power to govern the body of the lover; and this it cannot exercise while in the body's prison—until, that is, it is released by physical intercourse. Hence, until the bodies of the lovers are joined, their joint soul has no kingdom to command. The joint soul of these lovers has not attained its full prerogative until their joined bodies release it to rule. This follows smoothly on the earlier situation. The new composite soul, hovering outside bodies which its 'atomies' formerly occupied, cannot have a body to command unless these bodies are also made one. Until the bodies are made one the subtle knot is not tied, joint soul exists without body, bodies exist without souls, and the lovers are not truly lovers in love's hypostasis. Within the terms of the play of figure, the plea for the coexistence of bodily love with the highest degree of spiritual union has been completely justified. But it is the play of figure which is original, not the plea.

What follows is winding-up, chiefly by means of the comic pretence of the arcana of love. The idea that bodily union might be desired 'as sign of the primary conjunction'<sup>1</sup> is deftly dressed, the body becoming love's book wherein he reveals his spiritual mysteries to uninitiates. We have, again, the point that the speech of the loving souls is intelligible only to another lover—with the weak joke added that it has been a 'dialogue of one', a novel and mysterious sort of *dialogo d'amore*. And the somewhat enigmatic conclusion seems to be an assertion that the lovers' resort to their bodies now will mean no debasing of their love, or sundering of their eternally faithful souls.

Thus we see that if Donne's poem is hardly the seduction-piece of Legouis's 'scholastic Don Juan', it contains no individual metaphysic of love, and can only perversely be regarded as introspective. It is difficult to conceive how Mr. Eliot's 'sensuous apprehension of thought' could be a useful description of the processes which produced 'The Extasie'. Whether Donne was passionately in love when he wrote the poem is surely a profitless question—one remarks only that it is neither the analysis, nor in any direct way the expression, of personal passion. Beyond doubt it is the work of a strongly original and variously gifted personality, with a fine dramatic sense and feeling for language. But these gifts appear to be exercised in that dressing-up, re-presenting of received positions, which Italian critics of the Renaissance regarded as the essential poetic process. Only, Donne's chief vivifying resource is what his age called 'wit'. Certainly 'The Extasie' is a remarkably 'witty' poem.

<sup>1</sup> Tasso. See p. 365 above.



## MILTON'S FIRST SONNET ON HIS BLINDNESS

By FITZROY PYLE

### I

STUDENTS of Milton will be grateful to Mr. Harry F. Robins for raising the question of the full import of Milton's sonnet 'When I consider', and for pointing out some unsatisfactory implications of the accepted meaning.<sup>1</sup> His own interpretation, however, though ingenious and persuasively argued, is itself open to grave objection. To show that and to offer an alternative explanation of the poem are the purposes of this article.

Mr. Robins is not greatly at variance with orthodox expositors in his understanding of the opening movement. Here, it would seem to be agreed, the poet, in a mood of despondency, faces the question whether blindness has not relieved him of his God-appointed duty to write an epic. It is in his presentation of the final passages that Mr. Robins's originality lies; for in his view Milton concludes not with humble acceptance of the prospect of a sterile future but with triumphant rededication of himself to the calling of poetry.

His case rests on a new interpretation of the last three lines:

Thousands at his bidding speed  
And post o're Land and Ocean without rest:  
They also serve who only stand and waite.

These have generally been taken to mean that God is sufficiently served by his angels ('Thousands'), and that he requires nothing of men but acquiescence in the vicissitudes of life ('They also serve'). Mr. Robins argues that the contrast intended is not between angels and men but between the two main categories of angels in the scholastic angelology—the five inferior orders of messengers, and the four superior orders who never leave the presence of God but wait upon him continually and transmit his will to the messengers for performance. Through this contrast, he believes, Milton proclaims by analogy that he has henceforth been called to more exalted service:

For if his blindness has removed him from those active pursuits by which God's purposes are furthered on earth, it has at the same time elevated him to

<sup>1</sup> *R.E.S.*, N.S. vii (1956), 360-6.

a position among men corresponding to that enjoyed among angels by only the highest orders. . . . In the final analysis, then, the question central in the sonnet is *fondly* asked because the poet has *not* been denied light: [the experience recorded is the exultant perception that] like God's most favoured angels 'who only stand and waite', he also, illumined by a purer and more precious interior light than he had formerly enjoyed, might comprehend, interpret, and announce the ways of God. (pp. 305-6)

Now this exciting and revolutionary conclusion is based on the assumption that Milton thought of the angels as divided into two groups of orders radically distinct in function and in the degree of divine favour they enjoy. But did he really think of them in that way? If he did, it would indeed be surprising; for, as J. S. Smart pointed out in his commentary on this sonnet, 'Protestant divinity did not closely follow the Scholastics, in this as in other matters, but sought to found its conception of the angelic nature only upon the Bible'. In illustration, Smart quoted a passage from a sermon by Dr. Robert Gell asserting that 'The Angels of God being by nature so noble, so active, could not be employed onely in contemplation; They must have somewhat to do, as man had in his integrity, *Gen.* 2. 15. And their business is about the world, and all the creatures in it.'<sup>1</sup> Here the standards of Aquinas are tacitly set aside, and unrelieved contemplation is rated as less noble than contemplation varied with action. Hence as we read on we find that Seraphim and Cherubim (who in the traditional system remain eternally in the divine presence) are included among the angels whose business is about the world and its inhabitants.

Milton's doctrine would seem to be exactly the same. His chapter on the special government of angels in *De Doctrina Christiana* passes over the ninefold orders without mention. All the angels without distinction 'velut ministri circa thronum Dei stant circumfusi'; and though seven preeminently traverse the whole earth and some probably keep watch over nations, kingdoms, and particular districts, none is said to be reserved for exclusive service in heaven.<sup>2</sup> In *Paradise Lost*—for the sake of dignity, splendour, and diversity—the greater angels are given 'magnific Titles' of angelic hierarchy, but the titles only, not the functions appropriate to them in the scholastic system. Cherub and Seraph are by no means confined to the presence of God. Following *Gen.* iii. 24, Michael at God's command takes 'from among the Cherubim' his 'choice of flaming Warriours' (xi. 100 f.) to possess the Garden (xii. 628 ff.); and, in harmony with this, Gabriel, represented as a 'warriour Angel' (iv. 946) commanding the

<sup>1</sup> Smart, *The Sonnets of Milton* (1921), p. 109; Gell, *Ἀγγελοκρατία θεοῦ or a Sermon Touching Gods government of the World by Angels* (1650), p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *The Works of John Milton* (Columbia edn. 1931-8), xv. 100, 102, 103.

guard in Eden, is, we learn, a Cherub (844, 971). Uriel sees nothing odd in meeting 'a stripling Cherube' (as he supposes), far from the heavenly quires (iii. 636, 666), intent on visiting Paradise; and indeed he himself, though a Seraph (667), is posted on the sun as a messenger, for he is

one of the seav'n  
Who in Gods presence, neerest to his Throne  
Stand ready at command, and are his Eyes  
That run through all the Heav'ns, or down to th' Earth  
Bear his swift errands over moist and dry,  
Ore Sea and Land. (iii. 648 ff.)

In the light of such considerations it is difficult to believe that in writing the last lines of 'When I consider' Milton was distinguishing between the 'less fortunate' orders of angels who serve God actively, and 'God's most favoured angels', serving him exclusively in heaven. But if, as it would seem, the poet rejected the scholastic angelology, then Mr. Robins's case is without foundation; and Milton cannot have meant to convey in this sonnet that with blindness he has been called to a higher order of service, 'illumined by a purer and more precious inner light'.

## II

Turning to my own interpretation of the sonnet, I must first invite attention to the octave. There, according to Mr. Robins, the poet is momentarily 'seeking because of his blindness a special exemption from . . . responsibility', fearing 'that he might prove inadequate to his appointed task'. In his despondency 'he is tempted to seek reassurance that nothing further will be expected of him, that God will *not* exact day-labour, light denied'; but he is 'tempted merely; the question remains a "murmur"'; for it is anticipated by the timely remembrance that God, being absolute, needs nothing from men or from angels, and is best served by obedience—obedience for Milton consisting in cultivating his poetic gift in accordance with long-standing divine command (pp. 365–6).

Now that is surely far too mild a statement of the case. Nowhere is Milton seeking to be excused the performance of his duty. Now that he is blind he is all the more resolutely determined ('bent') to use his 'Talent' in God's service. What he is doing is crying out against the apparent impossibility of using it. It is, for the moment, not he but God who seems 'inadequate', in entrusting his servant with a talent and then depriving him of the means of turning it to account. Is it not monstrously unfair to be assigned a task, be incapacitated by the task-master from performing it, and

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then stand in peril of terrible punishment if one leaves it undone? Is God indeed 'a hard man', *exact*ing the full day's work he had bargained for, even though the light fails? This is no plea for special exemption: it is a bitter complaint, a demand to know the reason why God has acted as he has; and the imagery, built around the parable of the talents and predominantly mercantile, subtly indicates with the help of word-play the turbulent accumulation of doubt and angry insinuation. The poet's light is 'spent', that is, extinguished, but also paid out before half the days of respite for discharge of the debt have elapsed.<sup>1</sup> His talent is 'Lodg'd' with him, that is, stored away in himself for safe keeping—an ironic thought, for though it is safe there, it cannot be put to profit: it is 'useless' like that of the wicked and slothful servant who hid it in the earth—but it is not the poet who is responsible: he knows it 'is death to hide' his talent.<sup>2</sup> The expression 'day-labour', too, is double-edged. It signifies both drudgery for a day's pay—the service of a hireling—and also work that needs light for its performance. Thus the play on the word gives explosive force to the resentment of 'exact' and 'light deny'd' in the phrase which brings to a head the (hitherto but barely perceptible) implications of God's injustice.

In this sonnet, then, the octave builds up to a climax of emotion from which the sestet will lead down to a state of 'calm of mind all passion spent'. The reason why 'the question central to the poem's meaning' is 'fondly' asked is because it is in the highest degree wrong-headed and presumptuous. It is called a 'murmur' because, far from being a temptation to seek reassurance, it is an 'expression of discontent or anger by inarticulate complaint',<sup>3</sup> an 'obmurmuratio contra Dei providentiam in rebus huius vitæ nostræ providendis'.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Ere half my days': in other words, Milton believed at a certain time that he was destined to keep his sight for a further definite period (his 'days'), and he has lost it before half that period has passed. See *O.E.D.* under *Day*, sb. 12.

<sup>2</sup> As the thought is associated with hiding the talent in the earth, 'Lodg'd' may bear a hint of a secondary meaning also, that of having been beaten down to the ground and ruined like corn by the wind and rain. Milton introduces the word in this sense into his metrical version of Ps. vii, dated 14 August 1653, where 'lay mine honour in the dust' (verse 5) appears as 'roul / In the dust my glory dead, / In the dust and there out spread / Lodge it with dishonour foul' (ll. 15 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> *O.E.D.* under *Murmur*, sb. 2a.

<sup>4</sup> *De Doctrina Christiana*, Works, xvii. 230. Lest we should doubt that Milton could be a prey to such rebellious thoughts even for a moment, we may recall that parallel sentiments occur elsewhere in his work in contexts which though supposititious or imaginative yet possess a strong autobiographical strain. In *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* he writes concerning the man who has 'spent his youth unblamably' and sought the enjoyment of a contented marriage by 'constant prayers' and yet finds himself bound fast to an uncongenial wife: 'though he be almost the strongest Christian, he will be ready to despair in virtue, and mutin against divine providence'; and, still referring to helpless disagreement in marriage, he asks later, 'what if it subvert our patience and our faith too?' for it goes beyond the afflictions of Job, who was never denied the right to 'use means to remove any of them if he could' (*ibid.*, iii (ii). 399, 400, 425). Again, Samson's tribulations drive both

Upon this outburst of 'impatientia erga Deum: quo peccato sancti nunquam tentantur', patience quickly intervenes to supplant it.<sup>1</sup> The use of the abstraction not only completes the question-and-answer form of the sonnet and throws a cloak of impersonality over what has up to this been naked self-exposure: it anticipates the outcome, for the abstraction is as it were both actual and potential. To establish itself as an abiding state it promotes obedience, dispels doubt, and instils its opposites faith and hope, all by imparting the right doctrine of God's will and service.<sup>2</sup>

Accordingly, the leading image of the octave, that of a hard, exacting task-master, gives place in the sestet to the presentment of God as a mild and universal king. The poet's sense of injustice was utterly groundless because based on an invalid assumption. God is no merchant looking to his servants for help in increasing his riches—no business man reckoning the returns on sums entrusted to his employees, and anxiously concerned that they shall all keep unremittingly at work or suffer the consequences. 'His State / Is Kingly', his condition that of regal indifference to such

him and Manoa to 'Tax . . . divine disposal' (*S.A.*, 210, 373), and finally provoke the Chorus to break out:

God of our Fathers, what is man!  
That thou towards him with hand so various,  
Or might I say contrarious,  
Temperst thy providence through his short course,  
Not evenly, as thou rul'st  
The Angelic orders and inferiour creatures mute,  
Irrational and brute.  
Nor do I name of men the common rout, . . .  
But such as thou hast solemnly elected,  
With gifts and graces eminently adorn'd  
To some great work, thy glory,  
And peoples safety, which in part they effect:  
Yet toward these thus dignifi'd, thou oft  
Amidst thir highth of noon,  
Changest thy countenance, and thy hand with no regard  
Of highest favours past  
From thee on them, *or them to thee of service.* (667 ff.; my italics).

<sup>1</sup> *De Doctrina Christiana*, Works, xvii. 68. Patience is 'that whereby we acquiesce in the promises of God, through a confident reliance on his divine providence, power, and goodness, and bear inevitable evils with equanimity, as the dispensation of the supreme Father, and sent for our good' (ibid., pp. 66-67). Under this head Milton quotes as his first illustrative text Job i. 22: 'in hoc toto non peccavit Iob, neque attribuit insulsiatatem Deo', which the A.V. renders, 'In all this Job sinned not, *nor charged God foolishly*'—a significant and corroborative contrast to the situation presented in the sonnet, where the afflicted man for the time lacks patience. Job's later impatience is cited elsewhere in exoneration of that sin, ibid., pp. 68 (as above), and 252 (condemning stoical *ἀναβέβη*): 'nam patientiæ non repugnat sensus dolorum et querelæ seu lamentationes; ut in Iobo cæterisque sanctis adversa ferentibus perspicere licet.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Obedience is that virtue whereby we propose to ourselves the will of God as the paramount rule of our conduct, and serve him alone' (ibid., xvii. 68-69). Doubt 'sometimes befalls the pious on occasion', but despair 'takes place only in the reprobate' (pp. 58-59).



chaffering. Possessing all things he cannot be enriched or enlarged. Having servants without number he does not expect that at every moment they shall all be actively engaged, but rather that while some may be scattered far and wide, busy on his affairs, others will be ready at hand to do his bidding; and both states, active employment and inactive preparedness, are states of service acceptable to God.

So much for the leading images; but behind them are implications of detail which must be investigated. The poet's doubt and impatience have sprung from two complementary sources: supposing that the lesson of the parable of the talents will be applied with all the rigour of the old law, and forgetting that through the Gospel Christians have been disciplined

From imposition of strict Laws, to free  
Acceptance of large Grace, from servil fear  
To filial, works of Law to works of Faith. (*P.L.*, xii. 304 ff.)

In other words he has been thinking of salvation as a matter of merits and rewards, whereas, to quote his *Christian Doctrine*, 'it is faith that justifies, not agreement with the decalogue'; for, as he says further,

in the first place, our good actions are not our own, but of God working in us; secondly, . . . were they our own, they would still be equally due; and thirdly, . . . in any point of view, there can be no proportion between our duty and the proposed reward. . . . Lastly, *that of which God stands in no need, can deserve nothing of him.*<sup>1</sup>

So the passage, 'God doth not need / Either man's work or his own gifts', dismisses the notion that salvation is won by works alone, and asserts the doctrine of justification by faith.

The next words state the nature of God's service; and the concluding lines illustrate its performance. The injunction to keep his commandments is to be understood in the spirit of the New Testament, not the Old. God's service is an 'easy' yoke, freely undertaken (Matt. xi. 29, 30), not a 'bondage' (Rom. viii. 15) to the 'letter' of the law (2 Cor. iii. 6), as has been assumed in the octave;<sup>2</sup> and it is accounted good in proportion not to work done but to the willingness with which the yoke is accepted: 'who best / Bear his milde yoaik, they serve him best.' 'His State / Is Kingly', for God rules over all (Ps. ciii. 19), and the angels are 'per omnia Deo obsequentissimi'.<sup>3</sup> They are sent to walk or run 'to and fro through the whole earth';<sup>4</sup> and 'the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, xvii. 8, 9; 20-23 (my italics). The contrast with the parable of the talents is pointed by Luke xvii. 10, here cited in illustration: 'So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do.'

<sup>2</sup> The last two texts are quoted in Milton's chapter on Christian liberty (*De Doctrina Christiana*, Works, xvi. 124-7). Mr. Robins points the reference to Matt. xi. 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 'De gubernatione speciali angelorum', xv. 100, and Ps. ciii. 20, there cited.

<sup>4</sup> Zech. i. 10, iv. 10, both quoted in the same chapter (xv. 100-3).

chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels' (Ps. lxxviii. 17). Hence in the lines 'Thousands at his bidding speed / And post o're Land and Ocean without rest' the primary reference is clearly to angels, though the mention of 'Land and Ocean' (and not heaven also) encourages its extension by way of hyperbole and analogy to include human activities as well. But what of 'They also serve who only stand and waite'? Surely in so highly allusive a sonnet the final line must contain some culminating allusion to cap the rest and drive home the point. But what can the allusion be?

In the octave the poet chose an image of the Kingdom of God—the parable of the talents—which seemed to make salvation rest upon works alone, upon unremitting effort: the lord, 'returning' (l. 6) from travel in a far country, rewards each servant according to his achievement and casts into outer darkness the one who has nothing to show. The purport of the sestet has been that that concept of God's service is faulty, that it gives no place to faith as the condition of good works and involves a narrow and unworthy notion of God's nature and greatness. Should we not expect the last line to round off the case by introducing another and more gracious image of the Kingdom which would embody the conclusion of the whole matter?

Such an image occurs in Luke xii. 35-40. Jesus has been teaching his disciples to take no thought for material gain but to seek first the Kingdom of God; and he goes on:

Let your loins be girded about, and your lights burning;

And ye yourselves like unto men that wait for their lord, when he will return from the wedding; that when he cometh and knocketh, they may open unto him immediately.

Blessed are those servants, whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching. . . .

Be ye therefore ready also: for the Son of man cometh at an hour when ye think not.

The situation here outlined is similar to that of the servant with one talent. Its purport, however, is very different. These servants, too, are unoccupied and await their lord's return; but they have no reason to fear (as the poet in applying the parable of the talents feared) that though eager to busy themselves they are doomed because they have been unable to do so. They only stand and wait, in readiness to open when the lord knocks; but their service is blessed not barren, for they stand not idle but waiting expectantly. Milton represents them as standing because that is a position of preparedness, and also because it contrasts with speeding and posting without rest. The octave assumed that ceaseless labour is demanded of all, that this alone

is acceptable service, and is rewarded in accordance with results achieved: the sestet grants that ceaseless activity at God's bidding is acceptable (if performed without thought of spiritual gain), but enlarges the concept of service to include the ministration of those who though inactive are eagerly prepared for action when the call comes.

That, then, is the culminating thought that restores spiritual balance. The poet's philosophy of effort, dictated by his energetic temperament, still has its validity, when rightly formulated; but effort must not be made a universal criterion of value. A man who becomes blind may need time to readjust himself; an epic poet may have to wait for inspiration (which 'cometh at an hour when ye think not'); and both are properly engaged in so doing. Moreover, composing *Paradise Lost* will not be a means of gaining salvation for its author: that is already assured, provided he remains 'bent' to write the poem in God's good time.

Here is no triumph or exultation, and on the other hand no suspension of will, no abnegation of purpose, no prospect of a sterile future. Finding himself incapable, as it seemed, of turning to the work by which he set so much store, Milton has felt passionately indignant and resentful. But he has re-examined himself and his relationship with God, and, having come to terms with him afresh, finishes in the steady hope that creative power will return.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To complete the exposition, it should be pointed out how beautifully the syntax and the resultant rhythmical masses are accommodated to the variations of emotional movement. One sentence winds itself up relentlessly through successive subordinate clauses to the central breaking point, where in a heavy seven-stress line—the question 'Doth God exact ...' (object of the verb)—the vocal tension reaches its tightest and then snaps at the abrupt brief main clause, when the pitch of the voice is at the highest point (for it has had to be maintained until the main verb came). In the sestet the syntactical and rhythmical tension is in contrast relaxed. This effect is achieved by the immediate appearance of the main sentence, and the use as objects of no fewer than five sentences—all of necessity comparatively short—in a matter of half a dozen lines; and staccato banality of rhythm is avoided by enjambement: whereas there are stops at the end of five of the first seven lines of the poem, at the end of the next five there are no stops at all. The enjambement makes it necessary to raise the inflexion of the voice at the rest which falls on the last word of each run-on line, and this, accompanied by the subsequent lowering of pitch, produces a lulling effect. A similarly consoling effect is given by the reiteration, varied but little through almost three lines, of four-syllabled word-groups matching in rhythm:

| God doth not need |  
| Either man's work | or his own gifts, | who best  
| Bear his milde yolk, | they serve him best, | his State  
Is Kingly. |

Then a longer sentence causes the rhythm to swell out, responsive to the exciting thought, and the phrasing gives spondaic emphasis to its concluding syllables ('without rest'). That emphasis calls a halt, and prepares for a contrast to follow, which the sweep of the penultimate sentence sets off. The ordered simplicity of the final line is the rhythmical correlative of restored spiritual and emotional equilibrium; for here after a sustained passage of interlaced patterning the metrical and grammatical entities (line and complete sentence) now for virtually the first time in the poem coincide.

## III

From early manhood Milton's mind was disposed to rigid ideals of justice as represented by the parable of the talents. When his own ill-advised marriage suddenly brought home to him the frailty of the human condition he sought comfort in a philosophy of mercy, and thought of God as kind and considerate; but as the sense of his own weakness wore off, stricter standards returned. At that time, urging the right of divorce not as 'a matter of Law but of Charity', he wrote of the papists (who with 'letter-bound servility' laid an 'unjust austerity' upon divorce) that they delighted 'to make men the day-labourers of their own afflictions'; and he exhorted the unhappily married man who 'finds the fits and workings of a high impatience frequently upon him':

of all those wild words which men in misery think to ease themselves by uttering, let him not op'n his lips against the providence of heav'n, or tax the wayes of God and his divine truth: for they are equal, easie, and not burdensome.<sup>1</sup>

Yet in his blindness he had to learn that lesson all over again. The parable of the talents was still evidently a fundamental principle of his thought. As in the past, so still, God was his 'great task Master' to whom service must be offered 'in strictest measure';<sup>2</sup> and when he considered this in his time of disaster and new sense of impotence, it greatly added to his distress. It drove him in high impatience to meditate wild words against the providence of heaven, and to tax God with such 'unjust austerity' that he would make men 'the day-labourers of their own afflictions'. These impulses had to be checked and pacified, and God's ways justified as equal, easy, and not burdensome; and this meant abandoning or at least modifying the parable of the talents as a rule of life, and replacing or combining it with another, more merciful parable which would give meaning and justification to the slower tempo at which his life must be lived in future. Thereafter he would talk of 'wasting' a sullen day, glance with approval at 'The Lillie and Rose, that neither sow'd nor spun', and propound a milder doctrine of 'solid good' than the parable of the talents had yielded him.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, Works, iii (ii). 499, 495, 496.

<sup>2</sup> The sonnet 'How soon hath Time' (1632?).

<sup>3</sup> The sonnets 'Lawrence' and 'Cyriack, whose Grandsire', which contains the lines:

To measure life, learn thou betimes, and know  
Toward solid good what leads the nearest way;  
For other things mild Heav'n a time ordains,  
And disapproves that care, though wise in show,  
That with superfluous burden loads the day,  
And when God sends a cheerful hour, refrains.

Cf. 'the solid good flowing from due & timely obedience to that command in the gospel set out by the terrible seasing of him that hid the talent' (Letter to an unknown friend, 1633, Works, xii. 324).

## IV

As for the date of 'When I consider', my interpretation clearly points to a time 'when the calamity was fresh' and before Milton 'had become accustomed to a life in darkness'.<sup>1</sup> This is suggested by the very first thing he considers in the poem, that his light is spent—his deep disappointment is revealed by the play on the word—'ere half his days': well before he had expected. Again, the sonnet records the attainment of tranquillity and hope out of spiritual turmoil and revolt: such turmoil and revolt are very much more likely to have occurred early than late, and would be inconsistent with the sense of inner illumination (if steadily experienced) of which Milton boasts in the *Second Defence*. Further, before he started work on that tractate (in 1653 or early 1654) he was already engaged on studies towards *Paradise Lost*, expecting, that is, that he would be able to undertake his epic.<sup>2</sup> 'When I consider' was therefore composed before those studies began, for it intimates the revival of such expectancy.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. S. Smart, *The Sonnets*, p. 108. We may compare the references to the things of sight in the two sonnets on blindness. The expression 'this dark world and wide' bespeaks complete immersion in the thought of their loss, and is far removed from the detachment of 'the worlds vain mask'.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to Oldenburg, 6 July 1654 (referring to the *Defensio Secunda*, recently published), *Works*, xii. 64-65: 'To prepare myself, as you suggest, for other labours, . . . truly, if my health shall permit, and this blindness of mine, a sorer affliction than old age, . . . I shall be induced to that easily enough. An idle ease has never had charms for me, and this unexpected contest with the adversaries of liberty took me off against my will when I was intent on far different and altogether pleasanter studies.' Some weeks later (28 September) Milton writes in a spirit of contentment to Philaras of his 'otium & studia' (xii. 70).

<sup>3</sup> That the date must be 1655 has been impressively argued by Professor Hanford on the following lines (*M.P.*, xviii (1921), 139-47). With but slight modifications or exceptions the arrangement of the sonnets both in the Trinity manuscript and in the 1673 volume is chronological. We can therefore identify sonnets 18, 19, and 20, missing from the manuscript, as, in order of composition, 'Avenge O Lord', 'When I consider', and 'Lawrence', which occur in that order in the 1673 edition. Next after these in that edition comes 'Cyriack, whose Grandsire'; and in the manuscript (where its first four lines and its number are missing) this sonnet is followed by 'Cyriack, this three years day' (22), which is absent from the 1673 volume. Hence the chronological sequence of the five sonnets is established; and all are certainly the work of 1655. The first commemorates the massacre of the April of that year; the last marks the third anniversary (or thereabouts) of the poet's total loss of sight (which fell at some time in the middle of 1655); and the other three must therefore be assigned to the intervening months.

So runs the argument. But surely it will not hold; for it places 'Lawrence' in the late spring of 1655, and this is a winter poem. It belongs either to the winter of 1654-5, before 'Avenge O Lord', or to the winter of 1655-6 (or 1656-7), after 'Cyriack, this three years day'. In the first case the chronological order of the three sonnets missing from the Trinity manuscript is not that of the 1673 edition; in the second 'Cyriack, this three years day' is not transcribed or numbered in correct chronological sequence in the manuscript.

As Edward Lawrence may probably have been still abroad in 1654-5, the second is the likelier case. Supposing, then, that 'Cyriack, this three years day' was composed before 'Lawrence', what bearing has this on our problem? If 'When I consider' was composed in or about 1652, following 'Cromwell' (May) and 'Vane' (before 3 July), how can we account

## V

Lastly, there remains to be noted a connexion in thought, hitherto unsuspected, between the two sonnets on blindness. In the second, Milton boasts:

Yet I argue not  
Against Gods [revised to read heavns] hand or will, nor bate a jot  
Of heart or hope; . . . .

Here, it is now evident, he is thinking of 'When I consider', and privately pointing the contrast between his present proud composure and the initial mood of that sonnet, in which heart and hope both faltered, and arguing against God's hand and will was precisely what he was disposed to do. Hence it would seem that in this as in the earlier sonnet his purpose to write *Paradise Lost* occupies a foremost place in his thoughts, both when he speaks of not bating a jot of heart or hope and when he goes on: 'but still attend to steer / Vphillward'. The word 'attend' is equivalent to 'stand and waite'; but whereas 'stand and waite', used absolutely, implied the prospect of some interval for recuperation 'attend to steer / Vphillward' shows a contrasting sense of imminence—a more specific readiness, and a closer appreciation of the difficulties of the task and the dogged persistence it will involve. This, moreover, is not the final version. The sentence is on reflection revised to read: 'but still bear vp and steer / Right onward'. In this context 'bear vp' is technically a great improvement on 'attend'; and the change of meaning it involves is most significant. In the sense of keeping up courage it links with 'heart or hope', and in the sense of bearing into the wind it links with 'steer'.<sup>1</sup> Hence, instead of the single image yielded by 'attend'—that of a blind man waiting to guide himself up hill—we now have two superimposed images—the blind man making his way courageously onward, like a ship plying against the wind for a known destination.

The second sonnet on blindness is, then, a kind of sequel to the first. Both mark a critical point in Milton's struggle to come to terms with his affliction as an obstacle to the achievement of his poetic purposes. In the first, an angry sense of frustration at the onset of blindness gives place to

for the fact that 'Avenge O Lord', the next sonnet to be composed after it, was printed immediately before it in the 1673 volume? In the absence of evidence we may fall back on the following conjecture. Intending to include the second sonnet on his blindness in that volume, Milton put it in its right chronological position in the copy, between 'Avenge O Lord' and 'Lawrence'. The *Tetrachordon* sonnets made a pair, and so did 'Lawrence' and 'Cyriack, whose Grandsire'; so, wishing to pair off the sonnets on blindness as well, he interchanged the positions of 'When I consider' and 'Avenge O Lord', the only sonnet that stood between them. When 'Cyriack, this three years day' was withdrawn, 'When I consider' remained in its new place, out of chronological order.

<sup>1</sup> See *O.E.D.* under *Bear*, v.<sup>1</sup> 37.

steady hope. In the second, hope has already passed into confidence in the sestet—which has something of the air of an 'official statement'—and can be seen doing so in the revision of the more revealing central passage. There, the poet ceases to 'attend' or 'stand and waite': his three-year-old attitude of static preparedness is abandoned, and instead we find purposeful, self-reliant, forward movement in which his recognition of adverse circumstances ('Vphillward') is comprehended in positive assurance of success—for though he bears into the wind, his course is 'Right onward'.



## LETTERS OF ALEXANDER POPE, CHIEFLY TO SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL

By GEORGE SHERBURN

IN view of the recent publication of five volumes of Pope's *Correspondence* (Oxford, 1956) readers may not be clamorous for more; but such editions always cause repercussions, and in this case such were to be expected. It is a duty here again to point out that there are very likely several correspondences of Pope's still surviving, but not known to survive, which, if known, would be of much interest. One need only name William Walsh, Charles Jervas, Sir Clement Cottrell, Viscount Cobham, and Viscount Cornbury, to indicate that letters of several of Pope's close friends have not yielded to search.

It is possible, however, now to illuminate Pope's early years by letters or fragments of letters newly available. The Marquess of Downshire has deposited the papers of his ancestor, Sir William Trumbull, in the Berkshire Record Office in Reading, and from that source we get fourteen letters from Pope, of which twelve are to Sir William, one to his neighbour Antony Englefield, and one probably to Elijah Fenton, who was later tutor to Sir William's son. Also among the Downshire Manuscripts is a draft in Sir William's crabbed hand of the earliest known letter in the Trumbull-Pope correspondence—a letter that in 1737 Pope printed with only a few stylistic changes—changes which, of course, Sir William himself may have made in the final form of the letter as sent.

In the Bodleian Library, in MS. English Letters d. 59, ff. 50-94, there are three 'new' Pope letters as well as fragments of letters about Pope that passed between Sir William Trumbull and his nephew, the Rev. Ralph Bridges. These now exist in transcripts made by Bishop Thomas Percy in 1777. They include transcripts of four letters from Pope to Sir William, and fragments of other Popiana. With the kind permission of the Bodleian Library, of the Marquess of Downshire, and of the Berkshire County Council, the letters are here published.<sup>1</sup> The remaining Popiana for the most part will be presented elsewhere.

Something like two years after the Popes settled at Binfield, near Reading, Sir William Trumbull, because of 'age and infirmities', gave up his public career and increasingly lived at the family estate, Easthampstead Park, which was not far from the 'little house with trees a-row' in which the

<sup>1</sup> The County Archivist, Mr. Peter Walne, has been most kind and helpful, especially in regard to annotations based on other Trumbull papers.

Popes lived. Sir William's public career as Fellow of All Souls, ambassador, and Secretary of State is well known. How early this distinguished and elderly statesman became attracted to the young poet is uncertain, but by 1705 they were established friends. The importance of the friendship is implied in Pope's statement to Joseph Spence:

It was while I lived in the Forest, that I got so well acquainted with Sir William Trumbull, who loved very much to read and talk of the classics in his retirement. We used to take a ride out together, three or four days in the week, and at last, almost every day. (*Anecdotes* (ed. Singer, 1820), p. 194)

In 1716, when the poet was twenty-eight years old, the Popes removed to Chiswick, and later in the year Sir William died. In noting the decease in his *Elzevir Virgil* Pope characterized Sir William as 'Amicus meus humanissimus a juvenilibus annis'.<sup>1</sup> Pope's first Pastoral was dedicated to Sir William (1709) and in *Windsor Forest* (1713) he was named glowingly for his love of retirement. After Trumbull's death Pope's friendship with the family remained unbroken. In 1724 he aided Elijah Fenton in getting the post of tutor to Sir William's son, mentioned in these letters as the 'young Master'.

The nature of the friendship between Sir William and Pope has already been suggested by Pope himself. The former Oxford don must have been Pope's most important educational adviser during what should have been the poet's 'student years'. They read together, and, naturally, borrowed books passed frequently back and forth between them. Throughout his life Pope was, in spite of bad eyesight, a great reader, and in these letters we learn, for example, that he wished to read Polybius—in translation. The Downshire letters show that Pope's intellectual and literary eagerness early made a great impression on the gentlemen of Berkshire. This is certainly implied on the part of Antony Englefield of Whiteknights (to whom one letter here is addressed) as well as on the part of Sir William. Others mentioned in the letters include the great actor Thomas Betterton, who also lived, when at leisure, near Reading, and was a friend of the poet's. Pope seems to have served as a sort of literary executor for Betterton. The Bridges brothers were Sir William's nephews, and Sir Clement Cottrell was the brother of the first Lady Trumbull.

In 1735 or 1737 Pope in his own editions had printed eight letters to or from Sir William, and he had also printed one to John Caryll as if to Sir William. The new letters do not duplicate Pope's texts, but in some cases they do fit into the correspondence and so tend to authenticate the letters that Pope printed. Since now the letters are printed in two separate places, it may be helpful here to have a calendar of all the Pope-Trumbull

<sup>1</sup> Pope's *Works* (ed. Whitwell Elwin, 1871), i. ix.

letters as they are now known. In the calendar if the date of a letter is in italic type, the letter is *from* Sir William; the others (roman type) with two specified exceptions are *to* Sir William.<sup>1</sup> 'Corr.' is the abbreviation for *The Correspondence of Pope* (ed. Sherburn, Oxford, 1956):

<i>Date of the letter</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Latest printing</i>
19 October 1705	Pope ed. 1737 and Downshire MSS.	<i>Corr.</i> i. 10
15 June 1706	Homer MSS. (Elwin)	<i>Corr.</i> i. 17
15 [April 1707]	Downshire MSS.	
26 July 1707	Downshire MSS.	
8 August 1707	Downshire MSS.	
(To A. Englefield)		
9 April 1708	Pope ed. 1735	<i>Corr.</i> i. 45
10 August 1711	Downshire MSS.	
30 April 1713	Caryll MSS.	Elwin, vi. 7
(To Caryll; not to Trumbull. See <i>Corr.</i> i. 176)		
[1713]	Downshire MSS.	
(Jervas [and Pope] to Sir William)		
19 November 1713	Downshire MSS.	
21 November 1713	Downshire MSS. (draft only)	
19 December 1713	Downshire MSS.	
12 January [1713/14]	Downshire MSS.	
26 February 1713/14	Downshire MSS.	
6 March 1713/14	Pope ed. 1735	<i>Corr.</i> i. 212
12 March 1713/14	Pope ed. 1735	<i>Corr.</i> i. 212
17 March 1714	Downshire MSS.	
15 June 1714	Downshire MSS.	
14 February 1714/15	Harvard University	<i>Corr.</i> i. 281
22 February 1714/15	Pope ed. 1737	<i>Corr.</i> i. 281
16 December 1715	Pope ed. 1735	<i>Corr.</i> i. 323
19 January 1715/16	Pope ed. 1735	<i>Corr.</i> i. 327
16 February 1715/16	Downshire MSS.	
[?1723 or 1724]	Downshire MSS.	
(Not to Trumbull; possibly to Elijah Fenton)		

The correspondence as preserved is doubtless incomplete. Letters written between 1707 and 1713 are mostly lacking. The two men probably corresponded when Pope was away from home, though some of the letters (e.g. that of 26 July 1707) were written from Binfield.

In reading these letters one will observe their varying tone. Pope is gaily jocose in the one informal letter to the flattering Englefield; he is serious and at times almost obsequious in the letters to Sir William. His

<sup>1</sup> The three 'new' letters from Pope to R. Bridges are dated, respectively, 11 March [1707/8], 28 May 1709, and 10 February 1711/12.

epistolary wit somewhat resembles that in the letter of Jervas written while Pope is still asleep. His normal grave tone is seen in the letter about Dennis. The excessive flattery in some of these letters calls for comment. This element was a prescribed part of formal letters at this time. It was customary, so the second Earl of Chesterfield told his daughter, Lady Mary Stanhope, to flatter smoothly while at the same time protesting against flattery. Pope adopts this procedure to excess. One should consider also that Sir William in turn flatters Pope (as Englefield evidently had done): flattery from a young man to a distinguished senior is fully as appropriate as flattery from a retired statesman to a boy still in his teens. Most letter-writers must have wished for less flattery, but still they kept at it.

These letters throw a clearer light than we have had heretofore on Pope's formative years. His friendships, his health, his reading, and especially his translating are all here illuminated. His letter about Dennis's attack on the *Essay on Criticism* shows control, possibly controlled tension, but not the hysterical rage alleged in past pictures of the occasion. His visit to Walsh in 1707 is here documented, and so is the early stage of getting subscribers to the *Iliad*. His dislike of 'news' letters is curiously explicit in his reply to Englefield: it is an attitude that he preserved in later life. His uncanny gift (as editors must think it) for omitting factual details is seen in his failure to give the name of Mr. Wortley Montagu as Sir William's prospective visitor; and without Sir William's endorsements we should still be unable to identify the unnamed person—as we should also the estate in question at Great Shefford. Such 'concealments' can hardly be set down as purposeful. Pope simply knew that Sir William would understand what the letters were about, and it was nobody else's business to understand. It is in large part such casual concealments that have engendered the tradition of Pope's love of 'mystification'.

SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to POPE<sup>1</sup>  
Downshire MSS. (draft)

19 October 1705

I return you the Book you were pleas'd to send, & with it your most obliging Letter which deserves my particular acknowledgment, for the next to the pleasure of enjoying the company of so good a friend, the wellcomest thing to me is to hear from him. I easily beleiv'd to find that a wonderfull Genius in these Poems, not only becaus they were Miltons or approv'd by Sir Hen. Wotton, but becaus you commended them: & give me leave to tell you, That I know no body so like to Equall him even at the Age he writ most of them as you are; only do not afford more caus of Complaints against you, That you suffer nothing of yours

<sup>1</sup> The differences between this draft and the text that Pope printed in 1737 are slight. See *Corr.* i. 10. Evidently in the form sent Sir William had improved his style: possibly Pope made some improvements also, but the sense is unaltered. The book returned was a volume containing Milton's early poems.

to be seen; which in this Age, wherein Wit is more scarce than money, is a peice of Avarice & Cruelty, which your best friends can hardly pardon: I hope you will repent & amend. I could offer at many reasons to this purpose & such as you can't (with any decent sincerity) tell how to answer ~~I have so many thanks to give you that~~ I dare not enlarge, for fear of ingaging in a style of Compliment which have been so abusd by fools & knaves that between friends it is become scandalous: so that I shall onely conclude with an assurance that shall never vary of my being ever

Mr Pope. 19 Oct. 1705.

POPE to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL<sup>1</sup>  
Downshire MSS.

15 [April 1707]

Sir,—I send the Play<sup>2</sup> you were pleasd to command, which is but just now come to my hands, and had thought my self oblig'd to have waited on you ~~myself~~ with it, as well as to give you joy of the young Lady your Daughter, but am yet so extremely out of order that I'm forced to keep my Chamber. I beg the favor to borrow for a day or two Sir H. Sheer's Polybius,<sup>3</sup> which I will return with the rest. I am with all Sincerity / Sir / Your most humble / and most oblig'd Servant / A: Pope:

Tuesday the 15th.

Address: For Sir Wm Trumbull<sup>4</sup>

POPE to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL<sup>5</sup>  
Downshire MSS.

26 July 1707

July the 26. 1707.

Sir,—I had thought my self oblig'd to have waited on you with these Bookes, and to have return'd my Thanks for the Use of them so long.—But the Weather this Afternoon has deprivd me of the Satisfaction of seeing you before I leave the Country, which I think to do early on Munday; for my Health, I thank God,

<sup>1</sup> The letter is marked in pencil with the date 1707. If that year is accepted, 'Tuesday the 15th' must fall either in April or July. The remark about 'the young Lady your daughter' authenticates the year, for Sir William's only daughter, Judith, was born in 1707 and died in 1708.

<sup>2</sup> Assuming that the play commanded is a 'new' play, one notes as possible candidates Addison's *Rosamond*, Mrs. Centlivre's *Platonick Lady*, Cibber's *Comical Lovers*, Farquhar's *Beaux Stratagem*, and (since Rowe is a friend) Rowe's *Ulysses* (1706).

<sup>3</sup> Sir H. Sheers's translation of Polybius appeared in 1693. He was one of the gentlemen who read Pope's Pastorals before they were printed.

<sup>4</sup> The letter seems to have been written at home in Binfield.

<sup>5</sup> Pope is returning books preparatory to his departure on Monday (28 July) for his visit to William Walsh of Abberley in Worcestershire. On 5 August Sir William wrote to his nephew, Ralph Bridges (Bodley MSS. Eng. Letters d. 59, f. 52): 'our little Poet . . . is gone a dreadful long Journey into Worcestershire, to Mr. Walsh, from whence I never expect to see the poor Creature return: He look'd & really was no more than a shaddow, when I took leave of him, saying to myself, *Parvulus longum valedico Nugis*'. On 18 September Sir William reported to his nephew (ibid., f. 53) that Pope had returned. He adds, 'The little Creature is my darling more and more.'

is pretty well confirm'd to me: That yours, and that of your Family may continue, shall be my Prayer, when I am at too great a distance to make it my Compliment. I beg you Sir, to believe, that wheresoever I am, whether in health or Sickness, I shall always be, and ever profess my self, / Sir, / Your most Oblig'd / & most faithfull / Servant, / A: Pope.

Address: For Sir William Trumbull.

Endorsement: July 26. 1707 [modern]

POPE to ANTONY ENGLEFIELD<sup>1</sup>

8 August 1707

Downshire MSS.

August the 8th: 1707:

Dear Sir,—I am very much obliged to you for the kind Letter you favoured me with, and the more for its Length; for in it methinks I am conversing here in Worcestershire, with the same good natur'd, merry conceited, Learned & Politique Gentleman whom I have so often had the Honour to talk with at Whiteknights. But let me tell you, I do not take it so well to be treated in so complimentall a Stile; which seems rather design'd to prove your Wit, to your Friend, than your Sincerity: To be abus'd in a Man's own Country, where ev'ry body knows him ridiculous enough, is tolerable at least; but to abuse one at so great a distance is unchristian & unreasonable in you. Well, enjoy your beloved Raillery, on condition that I may enjoy your beloved Letters: for I wou'd rather be ridicul'd by you, than not remembered. Certainly Sir, you intend to make me extremely proud when you insinuate that Sir William Trumbull expresses a desire of my Return, which were alone sufficient to draw me back before I were at the End of my Journey, if I cou'd have the Vanity to believe it. I am sure there is nothing I envy so much at present as the happiness you profess in being his Neighbor; for as to all other Enjoyments of a most delightful Country, & quiet Condition, I possess 'em in perfection here. Now you must know, my Friend, that my Muse (from whom you say you expect such great matters) is ever unemploy'd when I can divert my self any other way; & therefore I am as idle here, and as unconcern'd when I remove, as the K. of Sweden is in Saxony.<sup>2</sup> You tell me Thoulon is taken at Reding, and I tell you Mareschall de Tesse is beaten at Worcester; whether either of 'em be so upon the Place, I know not. But for the future, let me intreat you not to write a word of News to me; for I wou'd rather (if you have any void space in the Paper, when you bestow it so liberally as by whole Sheets) havé a Mathematical Demonstration or two from Euclide instead of it.—I know very well, Sir, & it is in vain to deny it, that

<sup>1</sup> Antony Englefield of Whiteknights (d. 1712), grandfather of Teresa and Martha Blount, was one of Pope's best-loved neighbours. After Englefield's death (at the age of 75) Pope described him in his *Elzevir Virgil* as *vir facetissimus, juventutis meae deliciae*. The letter is written from Walsh's place in Worcestershire, and is an elaborate protest against the old man's flattery of Pope. At the top of the sheet Sir William, to whom the letter evidently was conveyed, has written, 'To Mr. Englefyld.'

<sup>2</sup> The English allies were at the moment failing to besiege Toulon. The Maréchal de Tessé had earlier been beaten, but not at this moment. Reading and Worcester are facetiously named? Charles XII was happily in Saxony in 1707.

you are the very Mirrour of Mathematicians, and the Pole-Star of Astronomers! (at least, you are unquestionably the greatest Genius that ever appear'd for making of true and exact Dials; (which exceed, sometimes, the Motion ev'n of Phebus himself) Nay, if you cou'd but be brought to confess it, I dare affirm, you are extremely happy in composing of quaint Madrigalls, & Anagramms. I am told for a certainty, you have penetrated to the Bottome of the Rosicrucian Philosophy, and are writing a generall History of Conjuraction.—To speak seriously, Sir, if you are surpris'd at all this, you ought to consider it is just thus that you have treated me in yours, with an Enumeration of extraordinary Qualities which as much belong to me as these do to yourself. And so, we are even.<sup>1</sup>

Now, as a Proof that the change of *Air* has not distracted me, I must soberly tell you, that I am very sensible of your kindness & good will towards me, but far more sensible of that which in return I bear to you: That I shall be very glad to hear again from you as you promise, & to serve you in any thing in my power. I shall be myself at the Assizes,<sup>2</sup> & when I have your orders will perform 'em. And I design to visit Binfield again within this month at farthest, if I can. In the meantime pray give my most faithfull Service to that honourable Gentleman Sr William Trumbull, and to Mr Betterton,<sup>3</sup> when you shall see either of them: I shall be sure, if Health & fair Weather permit, to wait ~~on~~ on them, as well as on your self, as soon as possible after my Return. And to assure you then, in a better manner than by writing, how much I honor my Friends, & how much I am / Sir / Your reall Friend & / affectionate Servant / A. Pope.

My Service, pray, to all your good family.

POPE to the REV. RALPH BRIDGES

11 March [1707/8]<sup>4</sup>

Bodley MSS. English Letters d. 59

March the 11

Sir,—I was very desirous of the happiness of seeing you at Fulham, which I had given myself to-morrow, but I am so suddenly Proclaimed out of Town that I have but just Time to pack up and be gone, to show myself an obedient Subject. I intend in the Country to be even with the Government; not by writing Libells, which they wou'd have the grace not to read; but by making a number of il' Verses, which they will probably read, and repent of having read afterwards. A Translation of part of Homer I will leave with Sir William Trumbull, which

<sup>1</sup> Pope is jocose about Englefield's science, exaggerating even as Englefield had exaggerated the young man's poetical achievements.

<sup>2</sup> What assizes are in question is not clear. The tone here seems sedate.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Betterton, the actor, died in 1710. For Pope's editing of his 'remains' see *Corr.* i. 142.

<sup>4</sup> The year is certain. *The London Gazette*, 8 March 1707/8, printed the Queen's Proclamation, which states that because of an invasion projected by the pretended Prince of Wales no subjects may have any correspondence with the pretended Prince; that all Roman Catholics 'above the Age of Sixteen Years must Repair to their respective Places of Abode, and do not thence Remove or Pass above the Distance of Five Miles'; that they 'Depart out of Our Cities of London and Westminster, and from all Places within Ten Miles Distance of the same'.



I beg you (if possible) to compare with the Original Greek and to give me your sincere opinion of, in regard to the Fidelity of the Version, which I have some reason to doubt of: for I shou'd be unwilling to publish it till I have better Judgments on my side than my own.<sup>1</sup> And if I publish it, it must be within a month or a little more, so that if you can conveniently return it to Sir William in a Fortnight, to be sent to me, it will be very kind. Pray mark any places where you find I have mistaken my Author, & give me the reason. This, Sir, is (I own) a very impudent Request, but I depend on your Friendship and good nature, which I have received so many Proofs of already, & which will ever oblige me to be &c.

*Address:* For / Mr. Bridges, at the / Bishop's Palace, in / Full-ham; / Middlesex<sup>2</sup>

POPE to the REV. RALPH BRIDGES

5 April [1708]

Bodley MSS. English Letters d. 59

[This is the Percy transcript, which agrees with the transcript from which the letter is printed in *Corr.* i. 43.]

POPE to the REV. RALPH BRIDGES<sup>3</sup>

28 May 1709

Bodley MSS. English Letters d. 59

May the 28th 1709.

Sir,—I am very glad you receiv'd the Miscellany because it occasion'd the Favor of your obliging Letter to me, which deserves Thanks much more than so worthless a Present; For I find it is with Jacob's Miscellanies as with the rest of the World, omnia fatis In Pejus ruere. And I guess you perceive by this time, on a Review of my Part of the Book, that Manuscripts, like Pictures, tho ordinary enough, may be thought tolerable when shown for a Rarity; & that tis with false Wit as with false Jewells, those may pass unsuspected in a private Cabinet, which would be of small account in the Shop. If I prove any<sup>4</sup> Sense any way, it must be by proving how much I esteem it in my Betters; some of whom, I hope, will not be more displeas'd to see their Names written over my Pastorals, than other great Men have been to find theirs under a Sign-post, where the scurvy Unlikeness of the Face hinders it from being a Satire upon theirs. I give you my hearty Thanks for your Promise of speaking as kindly of my Trifles now, as you imagine

<sup>1</sup> This apparently is the 'Episode of Sarpedon' published in 1709, pp. 301-23 of Tonson's *Miscellany*. Publication was less imminent than Pope thought. Among the Downshire-Trumbull papers is the letter of Ralph Bridges (29 March) to his uncle returning the translation with his comments. In its issue for June 1787 *The European Magazine* published Bridges's comments, which exist in Percy's transcript, Bodley MSS. Eng. Letters d. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Percy adds a note: 'The above is very exactly transcribed from the Original in Possession of the Rev. Mr. [Brooke] Bridges R[ector] of Orlingbury—1777.'

<sup>3</sup> On 16 May 1709 Bridges wrote to his uncle enclosing a letter (about Pope's poems in Tonson's *Miscellany*) which has not been found. Here Pope thanks Bridges for his commendations. Bridges's letters to Sir William are found in the bound volumes of Trumbull papers among the Downshire MSS.

<sup>4</sup> On this word Percy gives a footnote: 'This in the original seems to have been first written *my* then altered to *any*.'

you spoke freely of 'em before; and in returne, I assure you I was not more your Friend, nor more submissive to your Judgment, in my obscure State of a private Scribbler before, than I shall continue to be even after my being erected into an Author and created an Eminent Hand by Jacob, who makes Poets as Kings sometimes make Knights, for Money, and not for their Honour:<sup>1</sup> for as one may, if the King pleases, be a Knight and yet no gentleman, so if Jacob pleases, one may be a Poet and yet no Wit. But I shall not be much concern'd whether I am thought a Wit or no Wit, so long as you think me what I sincerely am, / Dear Sir / Your most affectionate humble Servant / A: Pope:

I am very impatient till I see you in this Country, and (to speak a bold word) Sir William Trumbull himself cannot more desire it than I do. My humble Service, pray to your Brother; to whom I am oblig'd for the Knowledge of Jo: Secundus, whose Elegies are very tender & natural & yet I cannot but be, in this, of a Dutch Commentator's opinion, who thinks the Book call'd *Basia* to be incomparably the best of his workes.<sup>2</sup>

*Address:* For Mr. Bridges, / This.

POPE to the REV. RALPH BRIDGES  
Bodley MSS. English Letters d. 59

10 February [?1711/12]<sup>3</sup>

Feb. 10th

Dear Sir,—I have been in Towne above a Week, and had not so long been injurious to myself in not endeavoring to procure the pleasure I always take in your Conversation, had not a severe Fitt of Illness for most part of that Time confined me to my Chamber, which is the same with that where you have formerly visited Mr Wycherley, at Mr Watkins's in Bowstreet. I beg the favour that you'll acquaint me by a Line, at what time and place I may have the happiness of meeting you? without the Interruption of other Company (unless Mr Trapp<sup>4</sup> will oblige us with his, as you seemd to promise he would.) Be assured, dear Sir, that you can take me from none, at any time, that is so wellcome or agreeable as yours must ever be to / Your affectionate Friend / & most humble Servant / A. Pope.

*Address:* To the Revd. Mr Bridges, at the / Bishop of London's in / Fullham.

<sup>1</sup> A week before writing this present letter Pope had used this witticism in a letter to Wycherley. See *Corr.* i. 61.

<sup>2</sup> This postscript indicates the explorations Pope made in what Sir William called the 'Terra Incognita' of the world of poetry. Johannes Secundus (1511–36), whose real name was Johann Everaerts, was a Dutch poet. Ralph Bridges's more distinguished brother John evidently brought the poet to Pope's attention. The reputation of *Basia* was doubtless established before Pope's day.

<sup>3</sup> The year is most uncertain, but we have no information that bears against that chosen, and we do have contradicting evidence for various other years. By 1712 Pope and Wycherley may be thought of as reconciled; hence Pope may be staying at Wycherley's lodgings.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Trapp (1679–1747) was Professor of Poetry at Oxford, 1708–18. Along with Pope he was among the contributors to the *Miscellany* of 1709. His strong Tory support of Sacheverell and Bolingbroke, both of whom were regarded highly by Sir William Trumbull (as his papers among the Downshire MSS. indicate) would win him friendship with Bridges. The first volume of his *Praelectiones Poeticae* (1711) would probably interest Pope.

POPE to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL<sup>1</sup>  
Downshire MSS.

10 August 1711

Sir,—I beg the favour of you to send Mr Dennis's book if you have done with it, a Friend of mine being here who much desires to see it: But if you could not throw so much time away as to have read it yet, I desire you to keep it, for my advantage; since I hope from so much Goodness & Candor as I have ever experienc'd in you, to know where he has hitt any blotts in my Essay? that I may make my profit ev'n of an Enemy, thro' the assistance of so good a Friend. As this is the only benefit I can reap from his Treatise, so I hope you will not be so Complaisant as to deprive me of it, who am with the most unfeign'd Respect & Obligation / Sir / Your most obedient & / most humble Servant / A: Pope.

Aug: 10. 1711.

JERVAS [and POPE] to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL<sup>2</sup>  
Downshire MSS.

[?1713]

Sir,—I believe few Dutyes are longer Omitted than those we intend to do every day & I that am a kind of Time Stockjobber<sup>3</sup> calculated the Installation week for a convenient Season & Binfield a convenient distance to carry my friend Pope to the Shew & satisfy his Curiosity & my own Obligation to the Duke of Kent<sup>4</sup> who engaged me to be upon the Spot That I may be qualified to perform his Figure in the Garter Robes with proper Graces. And after all this Politic adjusting Abel Roper<sup>5</sup> has put us out & we are designing & resolving over again. Each Saturday we conclude for Monday or Tuesday & thence to the end of the Week & so round, We both Think we can't help it & my pen Companion is so affected by the Weather That he is under the Same Regimen That a Garden Virtuoso keeps a Favourite Melon to protect him from the inclemencies of the Town Life & the Air. We bring a few Pencils with us to try whether we can, upon Recollection, come any nearer what we were endeavoring About the Picture. I wish you all

<sup>1</sup> Pope's *Essay on Criticism* was advertised as published on 15 May 1711. On 21 June Dennis's savage *Reflections critical and satyrical, upon a late rhapsody call'd An Essay on Criticism* appeared. Pope's official attitude towards the attack is that here stated: he would mend his poem with the help of his enemy's critique. He seems not to have rushed to get Sir William's opinion.

<sup>2</sup> The entire letter including both signatures is in the handwriting of Jervas.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Jervas sells his time as a painter. Among the Downshire MSS. is preserved a letter from Sir William to 'Mr. Hill' of Cleveland Court (where Jervas lived), dated 3 June 1713, which tells us that Jervas has drawn Lady Judith Trumbull's head and that of her young son and 'is this day to take them to London to finish'. The remark possibly serves to date this present letter.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Grey, Duke of Kent, was installed as K.G. 4 August 1713. He had been nominated as early as 26 October 1712. Jervas must be writing between those two dates.

<sup>5</sup> Abel Roper (1665-1728), as writer of the Tory *Post-Boy*, could hardly delay an installation. He must be mentioned jokingly.

joy of Master's<sup>1</sup> Change of Condition. Breeches to him are a sort of Wedding, or entering upon a State of Manhood.

Thursday Morning at 7 The Little man fast asleep. Yet I dare say we are your / Most humble servants Pope and Jervas.

POPE to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL  
Downshire MSS.

19 November 1713

London, Nov. 19th [1713]

Sir,—Tho I hope in a few days to have the honour I have long desired of waiting upon you at Easthamstead, I cannot deny my self the pleasure of acquainting you how great a Proof I have given of my Deference to your Opinion and Judgment, which has at last moved me to undertake the Translation of Homer. I can honestly say, Sir William Trumbull was not only the first that put this into my Thoughts, but the principal Encourager I had in it,<sup>2</sup> and tho' now almost all the distinguished names of Quality or Learning in the nation have subscribed to it, there is not one of which I am so proud as of Yours. Even if I should not succeed in my Undertaking, it were honour enough to me that Such Persons were of opinion I was equal to it, or at least not less equal to it than others. My Friends here have pushd this matter with so much Earnestness,<sup>3</sup> that Proposals in writing<sup>4</sup> have been deliverd into all the chief hands even before I cou'd inform you I had ingaged. For they sett the matter upon this foot, that unless They raise me such a certain number of Subscriptions, as may make so great & laborious a Work absolutely worth my while, I shall not be obliged to undertake it. Nor am I to begin till this is performed, nor any Proposals made publick, so as to depend upon the Town in generall, till then. I am to make it my Request to your Goodnature, that you'll please engage what number of your Acquaintance you can best make, to this Subscription. and I believe I do not flatter my self in thinking the number very great of those who wou'd make it their Vanity or pleasure to gratify Sir William Trumbull.

This Sir, is one of the many proofs your experience has given you, how many unforeseen Troubles a man may bring upon himself by engaging others in

<sup>1</sup> The young 'Master' is William (b. 1708), son of Sir William.

<sup>2</sup> Pope here gives a just picture of Sir William's early encouragement with regard to the work on Homer. One wonders at Pope's (probably strategic) statement in the Preface to the first volume of his *Iliad* (1715) that 'Mr. Addison was the first whose Advice determin'd me to undertake this Task'. In 1735 Pope printed Sir William's encouraging letter of 9 April 1708, and, significantly, after 'Sarpedon' was published Sir William was still urging on the work of translation. He writes to Ralph Bridges (Bodley MSS. Eng. Letters d. 59, f. 62) on 31 October 1709 regretting that ill health causes Pope then to 'desist' from Homer.

<sup>3</sup> Bishop Kennett's account of the progressing subscription fits into these statements. In a coffee-house he heard Swift saying that 'the best poet in England was Mr. Pope (a Papist), who had begun a translation of Homer into English verse, for which he must have them all subscribe. "For," says he, "the author shall not begin to print till I have a thousand guineas for him"' (Swift, *Correspondence* (ed. Ball), ii. 415).

<sup>4</sup> 'In writing' is a significant phrase: printed proposals came out later presumably.

Things they are not fit for, or by entertaining a better opinion of their Capacities in great works than they can deserve. I hope you are not so thoroughly a Statesman, as having brought me on, to leave me to bring my self off, without your assistance: I must fairly own, tho I would imitate Homer in all I could besides, I have no Ambition to do it in his Poverty, nor to spend my Life as unprofitably to myself while I translate his Works as he is said to have done his, while he wrote them. The Methods we have taken to prevent this, I shall reserve till I have the happiness of seeing you, in that Place, where you have often taught me to understand Homer, as (if I were not too much a Poet) I might every thing else, from you. I confide in that Disposition you have ever manifested to encourage any who but Endeavor to do well, and that particular Partiality you have long favord me with, that you will pardon all this, and believe no man more truly or with more Gratitude & Esteem than my self, / Sir / Your most obedient and most / faithfull humble Servant / A. Pope.

M<sup>r</sup> Jervas entreats, with my self, yours, Lady Judith's & Lady Jane's<sup>1</sup> Acceptance of our most humble Service.

*Endorsement*<sup>2</sup> (by Sir William): M<sup>r</sup> Pope 19 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1713 / About subscribing to his Translation / of Homer. / vj. my Answer p o. post the 21.

SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to POPE  
Downshire MSS. [draft]

21 November 1713

21 No. 1713

Pope,—I am sensibly obligd by your favor of the 19, which I have just r[ecieve]d, & am glad to hear of your undertaking to translate Homer, of the incouragement begun to be given you for that purpose, & allso of your Intentions of letting me have the happiness of seeing you again in a few days. Therefore I shall trouble you no further at present, than to assure you of my Zeal to promote your Interest, & assoon as you ~~bring~~ shall let me know the Methods of such proposalls, that I may communicate them to my My<sup>3</sup> & friends (tho since my being out of the world their number is much Lessend, as you will easily beleive) & you may be sure of me, that I shall subscribe with [*a heart drawn*] & hand as I now subscribe my self

Mo[st] hu[mble] Services w[ith] same [?]<sup>3</sup>  
to M<sup>r</sup> Jervis

<sup>1</sup> Lady Judith (1681–1743), wife of Sir William, and Lady Jane, her sister, were daughters of the fifth Earl of Sterling.

<sup>2</sup> Sir William's abbreviated endorsements induce guesswork: Possibly here he is telling one, 'See vol. j of my letter-books for my Answer per Ockingham post the 21st.' Variations occur on other letters hereinafter.

<sup>3</sup> At times Sir William's hasty writing (what with his tendency to abbreviate words) becomes quite illegible.

POPE to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL<sup>1</sup>

19 December 1713

Downshire MSS.

Saturday the 19th

Sir,—I have made the best Enquiry I could concerning what you honourd me with your Commissions about: The Annual Rent paid to my Lady Browne (who took a thousand pounds for her Right) is a hundred & fifty pounds. Upon a further Examination, a Gentleman here who very well knows the Estate tells me, it is worth a thousand pounds more in the Purchase to a Person who would live upon the place than to another, on the score of the Mannour, Inclos'd Grounds for Gardening &c. which are of a large Extent; The Rent which Sir George receives annually is betwixt five & six hundred pounds. This is all I could learn as to this affair, which I would not defer acquainting you with, by the first Post, having been to enquire of it this morning.

I must beg your permission to fill up a little more Paper with those Acknowledgements which take up so large a Share of my Thoughts; I hope you will be so just as to believe a plain Country Fellow, who never had either Ability or Inclination to make you a Compliment; But has (he hopes) Sence and Gratitude enough to entertain a due Sentiment both of your Favours, and of that engaging manner with which you confer them. This is a Subject on which I could enlarge with so much pleasure, that the best Proof I can give of my extream Deference to you, is at once to gratify you so far, and to deny myself so much, as barely to assure you I am with the utmost Respect and Obligation, / Sir / Your most obedient & / most faithfull humble Servant / A. Pope.

I beg my most humble Service may be made acceptable to the Ladies.

Address: To the R<sup>t</sup> Honorable, / Sir William Trumbull, at / Easthamstead, near Ockingham, / Berks. / By Bagshot Bag.

Postmark: 19/DE

Endorsements (by Sir William): 19 Dec 1713 / M<sup>r</sup> Pope / as to Great Shefford / [a second endorsement by Sir William] M<sup>r</sup> Pope. 19 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1713 / About Shefford / Thanks &c.

<sup>1</sup> The complete date of the letter comes from the endorsement. The endorsement also indicates that the first paragraph concerns the estate at Great Shefford (Berks.) owned by Sir George Browne, who had, to his displeasure, been exhibited in 1712 as Sir Plume in *The Rape of the Lock*. Lady Browne is Sir George's mother. These Brownes were related to the Englefields—see Burke's *Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies*. That Pope's report here is accurate is shown by figures given in a deed of surrender preserved in the Berkshire County Archives (D/EB T121). Dame Elizabeth, relict of Sir George Browne, surrendered the manor of Great Shefford to Sir George, her nephew, also of Great Shefford, for the sum of £1,000 and 50 guineas, she to receive £150 per annum during her life. These facts are made available by the kindness of the County Archivist, who further reports that another deed (D/ED 3/8) shows that on 24 October 1715 Sir William Trumbull purchased the manor for £16,000.

POPE to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL

12 January [1713/14]<sup>1</sup>

Downshire MSS.

London, January the 12<sup>th</sup>

Sir,—The favour of your most kind Letter was what I should have sooner returned my Thanks for, but that I was desirous at the same time to have sent you my Lord Weymouth's Commendations,<sup>2</sup> & have expressed that Sence which I am sure he entertains of your Friendship to him: But I have been twice unsuccessful in my Aims of waiting upon his Lordship. Mr Bridges<sup>3</sup> I saw the other day, & was obliged to for his friendly Promises, in pursuance to your Desire in my behalf. I have also beg'd Mr Jervas to introduce me to Mr Hill,<sup>4</sup> on the first convenient Opportunity. I am highly sensible of all that Humanity, which you have given me so many Occasions of acknowledging, and which you continue to manifest towards me every day: And I entreat you to believe, tho a thousand men may better deserve your Kindness, there can be none that will be more gratefull for it. This Sir is the Language of the Heart; without any Pretension to saying a handsome thing, I am contented with saying a true one; that I am with as great an Esteem, and as sincere a Gratitude, as any man alive / Sir, / Your most obedient, & most / faithfull humble Servant / A. Pope.

It was an extreme pleasure to me, to be acquainted by Mr Bridges, of his Brother, my Friend's Recovery<sup>5</sup> from so dangerous an Illness. My most humble Service attends the Ladies. Mr Rowe<sup>6</sup> acknowledges with [all] gratitude the favor of the books, and desires your acceptance of [his] most humble Service

Address: To / The R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir Will Trumbull, / at Easthampstead Parke,  
near / Ockingham, / Berks.  
Frank / Richard Steele<sup>7</sup>

Postmark: 12/IA

Endorsement (by Sir William): Mr Pope 12 Jan<sup>ry</sup> 1713/14 / Compliments / Ad  
p. o. post the 20<sup>th</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The year is given in Sir William's endorsement.

<sup>2</sup> The first Viscount Weymouth (d. 1714) had been at Oxford during Sir William's terms there. Probably Sir William had suggested him to Pope as a possible subscriber to the *Iliad*. His name does not appear among the subscribers.

<sup>3</sup> Sir William's sister Elizabeth had married John Bridges of Barton Seagrave, and was the mother of seven sons. 'Mr. Bridges' here is probably John, the famous antiquary. John and William appear as subscribers to the *Iliad*. Ralph does not appear as a subscriber, but since he helped Pope with the Greek, one may assume that Pope gave him a set of the *Iliad*.

<sup>4</sup> 'Mr. Hill' is not identified. Among subscribers to the *Iliad* appear Richard, John, and Arthur Hill. One thinks also of Aaron Hill, who was not a subscriber, and who was probably not at this time acquainted with Pope. He had, however, travelled in the Near East, and would have common interests with Sir William. Sir William's granddaughter later married Arthur Hill, the second Marquess of Downshire.

<sup>5</sup> The illness of Ralph Bridges is not noted elsewhere.

<sup>6</sup> The dramatist Nicholas Rowe seems to have been much valued by Sir William.

<sup>7</sup> The frank by Steele is worth noting. Pope had ceased to write for *The Guardian* months before, but here during the later run of *The Englishman* the two men were still friends.



POPE to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL

26 February 1713/14

Downshire MSS.

Sir,—Since the last time I return'd you my Thanks for your obliging offices on my behalf in the Affair of Homer, I received the advantage of your partiality to me, in my Acquaintance with your Friend Mr Hill;<sup>1</sup> who has something so very sweet & benevolent in his Manner, that I never yet found in another, except one, whom you would take it ill I should name. Indeed I cannot wonder You are particular Friends, but I do, that either of you should recommend me to the other's acquaintance. The only reason I can think of is that You are resolved to do me all the good you can, in all the ways imaginable.

I have been a long time very much ~~taken up~~ engaged in all those Inconveniences which one must necessarily, more or less, endure from the world, whenever one expects to be serv'd in it. This Subscription having forced me upon many Appointments, Visits, & Tavern-Conversations,<sup>2</sup> which as little agree with my Nature & Inclination, as with my Constitution. Insomuch that I have sunk under it this last week, & kept my Chamber, partly out of Sickness, & partly out of Weariness of Company. Every days Experience more & more endears to me that Rational & unmolested way of Life which when I was in your Neighborhood, I endeavor to lead after your Example.

I shall not plead this Hurry (the common old & impertinent Excuse when we neglect to do our Duty in any kind) for my having so long omitted to send my Lady the ~~Pope's~~ Englishman inclosed. Those Papers having not been so much esteem'd<sup>3</sup> but that they generally perished as soon as they were born; I found it a very difficult matter to procure one ~~some~~ any time after its publication. I employ'd no less than three Booksellers to search at the Printinghouses; & look'd myself in all the bundles at Coffeeshouses where they were filed up; but This was every where torn out, which makes me fancy I was not wholly in the wrong when I thought it one of the best of 'em. I must owne I came by this a very indirect way, for I stole it; but since my Intention was so very good, I hope (as a Papist) the Jesuites will forgive me all the Sin of this action.

The Poem that accompanies it,<sup>4</sup> is so arrant a Trifle, that I almost blush to think whom I send it to. There are pretty Cutts to it, and it may divert the Young Squire. I begg you will take this Opportunity of putting him in mind of me.

Mr Rowe entreats you, with his most humble Service, to accept his Play,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This 'character' of Mr. Hill surely is drawn for an older and more amiable man than Aaron Hill, who was about 28 years old in 1714.

<sup>2</sup> Against such conversations Sir William in his reply to this letter (*Corr.* i. 212) strongly advises Pope to 'get out of all Tavern-company, and fly away *tanquam ex incendio*'.

<sup>3</sup> The desired *Englishman* can hardly be identified. Pope's search illuminates techniques of preserving such files, but he probably exaggerates the difficulty of this small and inexpedient service by suggesting wrongly that the essays were not much esteemed.

<sup>4</sup> The enlarged *Rape of the Lock*. The young Squire who might like the 'cutts' was about six years old.

<sup>5</sup> Rowe's play is presumably *Jane Shore*, first acted in this month of February 1714.

which has met, here, with all imaginable Success, to the pleasure of which, nothing can add so much as your Approving it. I believe it has been worth about five hundred pounds to Mr Rowe.

I shall detain you no longer from better things, than to desire Mr Jervas's & my most humble Service may be acceptable to the Ladies and Yourself. But for my own particular I must beg you will think me something more than a common Professor of Service, but with all the Esteem, respect, and sincerity I am capable of, / Sir / Your most obliged & / most faithful humble Servant / A. Pope.

Feb. 26. 1713. [1714]

*Address:* To / The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir W. Trumbull

*Endorsements* (by Sir William): Mr Pope. 26 Feb. 1713/4 / with his Rape of the Lock &c / His meeting with Mr Hill &c / An<sup>d</sup> the 6. March p o. post / v. Copyj  
[Another endorsement:] Feby 26 / 1713

POPE to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL

17 March 1713/14

Downshire MSS.

Sir,—Nothing could be more kind or more entertaining than those Lines you honourd me with, except your Conversation, which upon my word I very much long for. I am certain, the Undertaking I shall enter upon as soon as I go into the Country will receive considerable Helps from it, as it did the greatest Encouragement from your opinion I was not altogether unfit for the Task.

I could not refrain in my last from making you a Partaker of the pleasure I receivd, thro' your means, in Mr Hill's acquaintance; and I have a favour of the like nature to thank you for in this, for I have begun one with Sir Clement Cottrell.<sup>1</sup> Mr Bridges did me the favor to subscribe for You and for himself, and had no sooner informed me where I might find his Brother, my Friend, in Towne, but I heard he was removd to Kensington: whither if I can possibly snatch a day from the Business I was lately complaining of to you (which these Subscriptions occasion) I will go to see him.

You judge at once very kindly and justly of me, when you say you believe I will take part in all that relates to the welfare of yourself and all that is yours.

After what you have been pleased to say of Mr Rowe's and my own Performances in Poetry, we have, both of us, One good Reason at least not to repent that we are Poets. So much as you pretend to be out of the world, there is a Fame you give at Easthampsted, which neither of us would quit for any success here. He is just gone into the Country, where he intends to proceed in the Translation

<sup>1</sup> This dates the beginning of a very important friendship. Sir Clement Cottrell (d. 1758), Master of Ceremonies at Court (1710–58), lived at times in Twickenham, and was hereafter a lifelong friend of Pope and a valued adviser. The friendship is not known to have produced correspondence.

of Lucan,<sup>1</sup> & has your Books for his Memorandums: He particularly commends the Spanish Translation.<sup>2</sup>

I beg you, with that goodness I have so long experienced, to excuse the wild, incoherent manner in which I take the freedom to address you. I think, in any of my negligences and deficiencies, I depend upon one of the best of Men for one of the best Exercises of Virtue, Forgiveness, which a man is always most sure of, from those who are least capable of offending, themselves. For it is as much a part of your character to excuse Failings, as to be guilty of 'em is, of / Sir / Your most obliged / & most obedient humble / Servant / A. Pope.

March 17. 1714

M<sup>r</sup> Jervas is sincerely / your obliged humble Servant

Address: To / The R<sup>t</sup> Honorable, Sir / William Trumbull, at East / hamstead,  
near / Ockingham: / Berks / By Bagshot Bag.

Frank: C Ford

Postmark: *imperfect*.

Endorsement (by Sir William): 17 March / 1713/14

POPE to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL

15 June 1714

Downshire MSS.

June 15. 1714.

Sir,—The Purpose I had of returning home by every Coach this Week past, made me not think of troubling you with a Line: the rather because I could not give such an account as I wishd, of the Commissions you favord me with. For the Memoirs of Sir William Temple were not written by D<sup>r</sup> Swift, or any other Hand that cou'd do honour to his memory.<sup>3</sup> As to the Sketch which M<sup>r</sup> Jervas promised, I am a Witness to his Endeavours to perform that promise; for he has done more than one without being able to please himself, the Position you insisted upon being (as he says) difficult. He intends some time the next week to wait upon you, to do his best at the Opus magnum, your Family-Piece.<sup>4</sup> I have seen M<sup>r</sup> Bridges twice or thrice, but always in such a hurry, that he cou'd not afford me an hours Conversation. M<sup>r</sup> Hill has been hardly in Towne since my coming hither, but I am in hopes of seeing him this Afternoone, & joyning in our just Commemoration of Sir W. Trumbull; which will be the chief Satisfaction I can have, till I enjoy that of waiting on you. I shall hope for it in a very few days; in the meantime beg yourself & my Lady, Lady Jane, & the Young

<sup>1</sup> Rowe translated the *Pharsalia*, 1718–20.

<sup>2</sup> Probably that in prose by Lasso de Oropesa (1530, 1585, &c.). See Spence's *Anecdotes* (ed. Singer, 1820), p. 178, for Rowe's learning Spanish.

<sup>3</sup> These *Memoirs* were by Abel Boyer (1667–1729), who earlier had been tutor to Lord Bathurst and to Prince William, Duke of Gloucester. He had abandoned tuition for the career of hack writer.

<sup>4</sup> Jervas's 'family' piece crops up in Pope's *Correspondence* more than once. See p. 397 above for Jervas's letter to Trumbull.

Gentleman to think me their humble Servant;<sup>1</sup> not forgetting Dr Stubbs, who I am afraid is by this time weary of the Task he laid upon himself. Tho the Town be very busie, yet I think it affords nothing worth being told, to a Person, whose Employments are so much more rational than those of the rest of the World. I am with the truest Respect and the utmost Sincerity / Sir / Your most obligd & faith / ful humble Servant / A. Pope.

POPE to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL  
Downshire MSS.

16 February 1715/16

Feb: 16th 1715/16

Sir,—You will have the goodness to excuse my arrogance in ~~sending you~~ having sent Precepts to you,<sup>2</sup> who are every way capable of giving them to all the world. Pythagoras himself might be more Silent than you, but not so wise, for he still retained some Command and Dominion over a Sett of Men while you justly despise mankind enough, to resolve not to govern them. You know the world the better for withdrawing out of it, as one cannot see an Object distinctly, without ~~holding~~ keeping some proper distance from it. In good earnest You are to be envied, while those whom most people envy, never think of you: and really if the Great were half so sensible of your happiness, as they are of other men's Aims at it, You would certainly be Impeached for such an Interested, exorbitant Philosophy.

Most ~~men~~ Ministers only retreat from the publick as Rooks do from Gaming, when they are ruined themselves after having ruind thousands. One looks upon you as some Superior Being, that has been once among Men, and now sits above, at distance, not only to observe their actions, and weigh them with Truth and justice, but sometimes charitably to influence and direct them. To give you some present proof that I am not flattering you, ther is a Gentleman of distinguishd Worth and Ability<sup>3</sup> who being to be employd in a Public Character, desires the Charity of some Direction and Advice from you, which he cannot but hope from your Humanity, and he makes me the Compliment of saying, from your Friendship to me, whom he has commanded to introduce him. I hope in a few days to have the pleasure of seeing you at Easthamstead, and of seeing you in health. I had not the Unhappiness of knowing you have been ill, till three days past, when my Father at the same time told me you were recovered.<sup>4</sup> The Health of Body is all I can wish for you, the health of mind you give yourself. The Powers and Enjoyments of the latter will (in such as you) encrease and strengthen to Eternity; those of the other must decay, and I know you do not repine they should, but I heartily wish you the best amends, the health &

<sup>1</sup> The young gentleman is William, later to be taught by Elijah Fenton. Dr. Stubbs, Chaplain to Sir William, is thought already weary of a task, possibly Pope's on the Homer.

<sup>2</sup> For the 'precepts' (from Pythagoras) sent to Sir William by Pope, see *Corr.* i. 323 and 327-8.

<sup>3</sup> Fortunately this gentleman is identified in Sir William's endorsement. Mr. Wortley Montagu was worried over the 'value and profits' of the post which Sir William had held, 1687-91. See Halsband, *Life of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (Oxford, 1956), p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> The bitter cold of 1715/16 evidently affected Sir William. He died in December 1716.

advancement every way of your Posterity, or (to wish your young Gentleman in one word all I can wish him) may he be like you. May Martials Epigram<sup>1</sup> (which you do him and me the honour to mention) be as justly fourscore years hence applyd to him, [as] it was by me to yourself. I beg you will make my humble Service acceptable to my Lady, and with the most unfeign'd Esteem and affection / Dr Sir / Your most faithfull / & most obliged humble / Servant / A. Pope.

*Address:* For the R<sup>t</sup> Honorable / Sir William Trumbull / at Easthampstead, near / Ockingham / Berks / By Bagshot Bag

*Postmark:* 16/FE [blurred]

*Endorsement* (by Sir William): M<sup>r</sup> Pope. 16. Feb. 1715/16 / Complements, & about a Gentl to come (who proved to be M<sup>r</sup> Wortly Montagu, & came hither Sunday the 19 about 4 aftern. fro Windsor, to advise about the value & profits of Embassy to Const<sup>ble</sup> &c.

[A second, later endorsement:] 16 Feby/ 1716 / Alex<sup>r</sup> Pope

POPE to [ELIJAH FENTON?]<sup>2</sup>

[September 1724?]

Downshire MSS.

Twitnam / Thursday

Dear Sir,—I've so long expected to see you here, that I never writ or sent to you, to Even our accounts for the Tickets.<sup>3</sup> I cannot imagine why we don't meet at this fine Season.

Ipsae te fontes, ipsa & haec arbusta vocabunt.<sup>4</sup>

I have just resolv'd to take this juncture to push the affair of Homer. I can't express to you how overjoyd I am, to think, Some at least of the Views you have had, will be accomplish'd pretty satisfactorily, between both these matters. But of this, (as you know) Altum silentium. I will write to Broome, believe me Ever / Dear Sir Yours / A. Pope.

Tell me if I shall send you your mony?

<sup>1</sup> This epigram was printed in *Poems on Several Occasions* in 1717 (ed. by N. Ault as *Pope's Own Miscellany*, 1935) with the heading 'Sent to Sir Philip Meadows, by Sir William Trumbull'. See *Corr.* i. 328.

<sup>2</sup> The superscribed 'Twitnam' makes it practically certain that this letter was not written before Sir William Trumbull died in 1716, since Pope did not live in Twickenham before 1719. One guesses that it was addressed to Pope's collaborator in the translation of the *Odyssey*, Elijah Fenton, who in 1723/4 became tutor to the son of Sir William and lived with the family for the rest of his life. The phrase 'push the affair of Homer' and the 'altum silentium' (desired as to the collaboration) make Fenton a plausible addressee.

<sup>3</sup> The tickets are presumably for the lottery.

<sup>4</sup> The Latin is badly misquoted from Virgil's *Eclogues*, i. 40. The line is quoted also in a letter to Lord Peterborow questionably dated [August, 1723]. See *Corr.* ii. 190.

## NOTES

### PERSEUS UPON PEGASUS' AND OVID MORALIZED

RECENT studies<sup>1</sup> have focused attention on the literary and iconographical tradition<sup>2</sup> which mounted Perseus on Bellerophon's winged steed, Pegasus. Though scholars have recognized the contributing influence of Boccaccio's *De Genealogia Deorum*<sup>3</sup> and Bernard Salomon's woodcuts for Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,<sup>4</sup> they have overlooked entirely two late-medieval commentaries on Ovid.

Petrus Berchorius' *Ovidius Moralizatus*<sup>5</sup> placed Perseus on Pegasus

<sup>1</sup> T. W. Baldwin, 'Perseus Purloins Pegasus', *P.Q.*, xx (1941), 361-70; George Burke Johnston, 'Jonson's "Perseus upon Pegasus"', *R.E.S.*, n.s. vi (1955), 65-67; John D. Reeves, 'Perseus and the Flying Horse in Peele and Heywood', *R.E.S.*, n.s. vi (1955), 397-9; Harold N. Hillebrand (ed.), *Troilus and Cressida, A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia and London, 1953), pp. 45-47 n.

<sup>2</sup> For the origin of this tradition see F. Hannig, *De Pegaso* (Breslau, 1902); P. Jacobsthal, *Die melischen Reliefs* (Berlin, 1931), Taf. 28-29; Baldwin, pp. 364-5; *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. Georg Wissowa and Wilhelm Kroll (Stuttgart, 1937), s.v. 'Pegasos': 'Daß auch Perseus auf dem P[egasos] reitend gedacht werden konnte, davon zeugt das melische Tonrelief 61 und 62 bei P. Jacobsthal *Die melischen Reliefs*. . . So kann man verstehen, daß auf Mithradatesmünzen ein trinkender P[egasos] erscheint zum Andenken an Perseus, den sagenhaften Ahnen des Mithradates, *Hill Historical Greek Coins* 161.' I am indebted to Miss Lascelles of Somerville College, Oxford, for a reference to Salomon Reinach's article, 'Pégase, l'Hippogriffe et les Poètes', *Revue Archéologique*, 5th series, xi (1920), 207-35—a study which appears to have been neglected by Baldwin and other writers on this subject.

The controversy as to whether or not this tradition originated in classical antiquity has centred around three problems: (1) an equestrian figure in a terracotta relief from Melos (see Jacobsthal, *supra*); (2) Ovid's line 'victor Abantiades alite fertur equo' (*Amores*, III. xii) (3) allegorical explanations of Pegasus as a ship. Reinach believed that there was no valid reason for identifying the horse in the Melos relief with Pegasus and that the phrase 'victor Abantiades' in the *Amores* was a copyist's error. Hence, in his opinion, 'Persée n'a jamais monté Pégase et . . . les affirmations contraires des mythographes modernes reposent sur des fondements ruineux.' As for the third problem—the horse/ship allegory—Baldwin maintained that 'the interpretation by Palaephatus of the flying Pegasus as a ship evidently led to the interpretation found in the inserted note attributed to Lactantius of the flying Perseus as having used a ship. This ship then became Bellerophon's ship Pegasus, which was also his horse Pegasus. . . Thus by the Middle Ages Perseus . . . had acquired Pegasus, both horse and ship, from Bellerophon.' Miss Lascelles also suggests that 'the association of Perseus and Bellerophon as riders on Pegasus or sailors in Pegasus may begin with this euhemerist horse/ship rationalization'.

<sup>3</sup> Baldwin, p. 363; Johnston, pp. 65-66; Reeves, p. 397.

<sup>4</sup> Baldwin, p. 366.

<sup>5</sup> Since Berchorius died in 1362, his commentary must have antedated Boccaccio's *De Genealogia Deorum* by several years. It was first printed at Paris in 1509 and the following year at Lyons. See Davis P. Harding, *Milton and the Renaissance Ovid* (*Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, xxx. 4. Urbana, 1946), p. 16. A French translation had been printed at Bruges by Colard Mansion in 1484. (J. Th. M. Van 't Sant, *Le Commentaire de Copenhague de L'Ovide Moralisé* (Amsterdam, 1929), p. 5.)

immediately after the slaughter of Medusa:

Perseus amputavit caput medusae . . . & statim de sanguine eius natus est pegasus equus .s. alatus sive pennatus & alis in pedibus premunitus. Super quem cum perseus ascendisset portavit eum per aera circumquaque.<sup>1</sup>

Allegorically, this flight represented (1) fame or (2) Christ's ascension:

Istud exponit fulgentius: dicit enim quod perseus occidit medusam de cuius sanguine natus est equus et ita statim quod aliquis facit aliquod notabile factum inde nascitur equus volucris portans eum .i. fama que ipsius et nomen et strenuitatem virtutis eius ad regiones remotas portat & more volucris cito volat. De virtute autem fama nascitur qua volante homo cognoscitur & portatur.

Perseus autem christus qui mediante scuto palladis .i. mediante carne virginis pennis Mercurij .i. virtute divinitatis gladio harpe .i. tormento lancee crucis superavit eum. . . . Tandem vero super pegasum .i. corpus glorificatum per resurrectionem ascendit: cum quo in ascensione in paradysum volavit. ps. Ascendit super cherubim et volavit &c.<sup>1</sup>

This tradition reappeared in a prose *Ovide Moralisé* probably composed between April 1466 and September 1467:<sup>2</sup>

Mais du sang qui saillit d'icelle teste couppee nasquit tantost Pegasus, le cheval volant de Perseüs. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Unlike Berchorius and Boccaccio, this account introduced the winged horse specifically into Perseus's adventures with Atlas and Andromeda:

Mais par Perseüs est yci entendu eslievement de vertuese sapience. . . . [II] se trouve monté sur Pegasus, le cheval volant, sur lequel le dit Perseüs vola en l'air et par mer et par terre. . . .

. . . maintenant avons à parler comment Perseüs vola dessus le cheval Pegasus par my l'air, de region en region, sans cesser d'aler et de voler jusques atant qu'il ot esté par tout le monde. Et . . . il se arresta es parties d'occident pour y loger . . . en la maison d'un . . . homme nommé Athlas. . . .

Et atant se monta Perseüs dessus son cheval Pegasus, si s'en ala volant en l'air par dessus la dite beste, qui desja estoit bien près de la rive marine où estoit la dite pucelle lyée, et de son fauchon trenchant luy donna plusieurs et diverses plaies.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Petrus Berchorius,] *Metamorphosis Ovidiana moraliter a Magistro Thoma Waleys Anglico . . . explanata* (Paris, 1515), f. xlvi.

<sup>2</sup> *Ovide Moralisé en Prose (Texte du Quinzième Siècle)*, ed. C. de Boer, *Verhandelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeling Letterkunde*, n.s., lxi (Amsterdam, 1954), 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 162-6.



In illustrating both these episodes, Bernard Salomon<sup>1</sup> and his followers<sup>2</sup> were much closer to the version in the prose *Ovide Moralisé* than to that of Berchorius or Boccaccio.

In substituting Perseus for Bellerophon, several of the authors cited by Johnston and Reeves may have been influenced by pejorative interpretations of the Bellerophon myth. His tragic fall from his winged steed in attempting to scale heaven had made him a conventional symbol for ambition and overweening arrogance:

Sed Bellerophon, quale est ingenium plerisque mortalium, tanta rerum gestarum felicitate nimium elatus in coelum quoque ascendere super equo Pegaso voluit; quam arrogantiam Iupiter omnis temeritatis gravissimus vindex deprimentam esse ratus, oestrum illi equo immisit, quare Bellerophon praeceps in terram deturbatur.<sup>3</sup>

Comparison with Bellerophon could confer no credit on a horseman. Hence Jonson,<sup>4</sup> Shakespeare,<sup>5</sup> and Peele<sup>6</sup>—utilizing the Pegasus allusion as a tribute to horsemanship—tactfully avoided any reference to this hero. Although Jonson might appropriately write, 'You shew'd like Perseus upon Pegasus', an allusion to Bellerophon would have been, at best, a left-handed compliment.

The fact that Ariosto's episode describing Angelica's deliverance by Ruggiero on his hippogriff had been based on the legend of Perseus on Pegasus was noted by Ruscelli as early as 1556:

Non solo s'è accommodato de i nomi, ma di molte cose ancora, come Angelica esposta al monstro liberata da Ruggiero sù l'Ippogrifo appresenta Andromeda esposta al monstro liberata da Perseo su'l cavallo Pegaseo. . . .<sup>7</sup>

Thomas Carew alluded to the same tradition in *Coelum Britannicum*:

<sup>1</sup> Baldwin, p. 366. One of Salomon's illustrations depicted Perseus on Pegasus, turning Atlas into stone. Another showed him mounted on his winged horse, attacking the sea monster to free Andromeda.

<sup>2</sup> M. D. Henkel, 'Illustrierte Ausgaben von Ovids Metamorphosen in xv., xvi. und xvii. Jahrhundert', *Bibliothek Warburg Vorträge 1926-1927* (Leipzig, 1930), pp. 58-144. Figs. 56 and 57 illustrate the Andromeda episode; Figs. 82 and 83 depict Perseus and Atlas. In all four plates, the hero is mounted on Pegasus.

<sup>3</sup> *Natalis Comitum Mythologiae* (Frankfurt, 1584), pp. 963-4.

<sup>4</sup> *Underwood*, p. liii. See Johnston, p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> *King Henry the Fifth*, III. vi; *Troilus and Cressida*, IV. v.

<sup>6</sup> *King Edward the First*; see Reeves, p. 397.

<sup>7</sup> 'Annotationi, et Avvertimenti, di Ieronimo Ruscelli sopra i luoghi difficili, & importanti del Furioso', in *Orlando Furioso di M. Lodovico Ariosto* (Venice, 1603), p. 604. First published in an edition of *Orlando Furioso* printed at Venice in 1556, Ruscelli's 'Annotationi' appeared in numerous other editions of this work during the latter half of the sixteenth century. Reinach, p. 230, observes that in 1540, in a commentary on *Orlando Furioso*, 'Fausto ad Longiano opinait que l'hippogriffe de l'Arioste n'était autre que le Pégase des anciens.'

. . . and then had you but clapt *Perseus* on his *Pegasus*, brandishing his Sword, the Dragon yawning on his backe under the horses feet, with *Python's* dart through his throat, there had been a Divine St. *George* for this Nation. . . .<sup>1</sup>

And no doubt there are many other comparable allusions in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century art and literature. On the other hand, *Perseus's* attributes were occasionally transferred to *Bellerophon*.<sup>2</sup> In *The Third Part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Yvychurch*, Abraham Fraunce invested *Bellerophon* with a 'terrible *Gorgon*'—probably *Perseus's* *Gorgon's* head:

*Bellerophon*, by these meanes banished, passing through divers dangers and perills, riding on the winged horse *Pegasus*, and bearing his terrible *Gorgon*, at last slew *Chimera*.<sup>3</sup>

JOHN M. STEADMAN

### AN UNCOLLECTED SCOTT LETTER

SIR WALTER SCOTT's friendship with the actor Charles Mayne Young is well known, but a letter of Scott to Young printed by the latter's son<sup>4</sup> has escaped the vigilance of editors, including Sir Herbert Grierson. I reproduce it with Julian Young's introductory paragraph.

It was in the month of May in this year (1808), I conclude, from the following letter which now lies before me, that a project was started by certain prominent patrons of the drama for erecting a new theatre in Edinburgh, in which Charles Young's talents might have had a larger field; but, from what cause I know not, it fell to the ground.

<sup>1</sup> *The Poems of Thomas Carew*, ed. Rhodes Dunlap (Oxford, 1949), p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> Baldwin, p. 364, noted the identification of *Bellerophon* with *Perseus* by the Vatican 'Mythographus Primus': 'But in a mythology which survives in a manuscript of the tenth- or eleventh-century *Bellerophon* and *Perseus* are made identical. "*Bellerophon* is *Perseus*";' "*Bellerophon*, qui et *Perseus*, *Glauci* filius." So at one fell swoop *Perseus* is given even *Bellerophon* himself with all that he possessed.' Actually, Baldwin exaggerated the importance of this identification. After equating the two heroes, the anonymous mythographer treated their exploits separately, as though they were two distinct persons. *Perseus* did not ride *Pegasus* in this account. See Angelus Maius (ed.), *Classicorum Auctorum et Vaticanis Codicibus Editorum Tomus III* (Rome, 1831), pp. 27-28, 47. Reinach, suggesting that Ovid's line originally read 'PER NOS BELLEROPHON alite fertur equo', added (p. 212) that 'L'altération du texte est probablement fort ancienne; elle explique peut-être la singulière notice d'un des *Mythographi Vaticani* qui identifie *Persée* à *Bellerophon*'.

<sup>3</sup> Abraham Fraunce, *The Third Part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Yvychurch: Entitled, Amintas Dale* (London, 1592), p. 29. Although it is possible that the 'terrible *Gorgon*' denoted *Pallas's* *Gorgon* shield, it is more probable that Fraunce was referring to *Medusa's* head.

<sup>4</sup> Julian Charles Young, *A Memoir of Charles Mayne Young, Tragedian, with Extracts from his Son's Journal* (London and New York, 1871), i. 54-55.

'May 15, 1808.

'DEAR YOUNG.—I was aware, shortly after writing to you, that you had left town before my letter could have reached you. The outline of the plan for the theatre, is,—that, the patent is to be vested in the name of a few gentlemen for the benefit of the public, great inconvenience having occurred from its having been made out in the name of a manager, who was thereby enabled to entail his debts as a burden on the theatre during the whole length of the patent. The patentees are to exercise no other authority than by leasing the theatre from time to time, for such a rent, as shall indemnify the proprietors of the house, and for such a length of years, as shall be agreed upon.

'But all this matter is yet in embryo; though I believe it will go forward in that train. Charles Kemble is looking towards it; but I think not anxiously. I think it likely, William Erskine, Henry Mackenzie ("The Man of Feeling"), and, probably, I myself, may be among the patentees. If Mrs. Siddons is disposed to exert herself, I have promised to support her son or nephew. But, *entre nous*, I don't think she will.

'You are now master of our views, and I should be very happy if you can spin anything out of them likely, as Falstaff says, "to do you good."

I am, my dear Young,  
Yours very truly,  
WALTER SCOTT.'

J. C. MAXWELL

### THE SCHOLAR GIPSY AND ORIENTAL WISDOM

'The Last Enchantments' (*R.E.S.*, N.S. viii (1957), 257-65) is an independent and interesting revaluation of *The Scholar Gipsy*. It refutes Dr. Leavis on the one hand and rebuts Mr. Wilson Knight's interpretation on the other, and suggests a third approach to the poem. In his attempt to establish his position, however, Mr. Dyson seems to have forgotten in the second part the thesis he set forth in the first. The first part states that there is a tension in the poem; the second part contends that Arnold is really on the side of modern intellectuals: which means he has made his choice; and so there is no real tension.

It is here that one has to disagree with Mr. Dyson. The tone of the poem is made clear in such stanzas as the nineteenth, where 'amongst us one / Who most has suffer'd' is made to take 'dejectedly / His seat upon the intellectual throne'. And all the wisdom he has to impart to us is his sad experience and a catalogue of 'all his hourly varied anodynes'.

Mr. Dyson would have us examine the images of death in the poem. But they come only in the description of the rationalistic Victorian age. He draws our attention to lines 135-40 and argues that the Gipsy is dead. But,

surely, the death described there applies only to the Gipsy viewed as an historical character; not to the timeless spirit which he essentially is. On the other hand, images of death, paralysis, and sick fatigue are specifically used only in describing the condition of the Victorian age.

That Arnold was a Hellenist is true, but not relevant in a discussion of the value of the image of the 'Grecian Coaster' in *The Scholar Gipsy*. The Grecian Coaster is a light-hearted intruder, a petty trader dealing in perishable goods; and he is contrasted with the grave Tyrian trader.

Arnold is decidedly on the side of the Scholar Gipsy and what he stands for. He is in fact yearning for it: witness the first stanza which contains the significant adjuration 'Again begin the quest'. This attitude is suggested not only by such expressions and by the tone of this poem but by his reference to the same quest in the companion poem *Thyrsis*.

The contrast in the poem is not between an age of simple faith (which has become impossible and so 'useless') and Arnold's complex rationalistic age. Arnold deliberately calls his poem *The Scholar Gipsy*—a scholar who has chosen to become a gipsy. He stands surely for a new kind of awareness, a new poise, for such values as concentration, detachment, a unified functioning of the faculties. He too waits for 'the spark from Heaven to fall'; but Mr. Dyson (p. 261) forgets that he waits 'in hope' unlike the Victorians. And there is the difference between the Victorian intellectual with his dry rationalism and the Scholar Gipsy who combines in himself intellect and faith. Arnold, who spoke earlier of 'toil unsevered from tranquillity' and the soul-searching vision of the Gipsy child by the sea shore, and later of the 'Palladium' of the soul, was throughout yearning for a wisdom which would reconcile the apparently irreconcilable opposites—the heart and the head, action and inaction. The *Bhagavad Gita* calls these opposites 'Dwandwas', and it also speaks of a state of consciousness which transcends all dualism. That Arnold's mind was preoccupied with such thoughts is clear from his *Note-Books* and his letters to Arthur Hugh Clough. In a letter dated 4 March 1848 he says:

The Indians distinguish between meditation or absorption and knowledge: and between abandoning practice, and abandoning the fruits of action and all respect thereto. This last is a supreme step, and dilated on throughout the poem.<sup>2</sup>

In another letter he regrets that Clough does not care for the wisdom of the

<sup>1</sup> The Scholar Gipsy's uselessness to the nineteenth century, says Mr. Dyson, 'on a practical level is underlined however by his associations with magic . . .'. But Arnold does not attach any importance to that side of the Scholar Gipsy. That part of the poem is 'factual', a versified form of Glanvill. The Gipsy has not yet assumed his symbolic role.

<sup>2</sup> *The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. H. F. Lowry (Oxford, 1932), p. 71.

*Gita*: 'I am disappointed the Oriental wisdom, God grant it were mine, pleased you not. To the Greeks, foolishness' (p. 69).<sup>1</sup> Arnold knew that the secret of life was not joy but peace. Peace, however, is not 'sad patience' but something that passes beyond the Dwandwas.<sup>2</sup> It is comparable to the vital and positive peace that is found in the later writings of T. S. Eliot and especially in the Four Quartets.

To contend that Arnold, the social reformer, author of *Literature and Dogma*, *God and the Bible*, and *Culture and Anarchy*, was an agnostic is also irrelevant, as irrelevant as the details about the scholar described in Glanvill's book. The poet transmutes his material and is inspired by a vision of life or a moral idea, which is real to him and realizable in his own life. The critic and social reformer on the other hand preaches such ideals as are practicable in his generation. In discussing the tone and value of a poem we should concentrate on the process by which certain raw materials are converted into symbols of the poet's inner aspirations. What were the ideals that inspired the poet Arnold round about the time of *The Scholar Gipsy*? We have only to consult his letters and his *Note-Books*; these clearly indicate that with all his outward agnosticism and opposition to religious dogma he was really in search of an integrated ideal. He had embodied it in the Scholar Gipsy.

As for his attitude to Oriental wisdom it must be clear to every reader of his *Note-Books* that it was one of respect and devotion. The entries in the *Note-Books* mark, in the words of the editors, 'Arnold's consecration to a life larger than that of the poet and essayist. Whatever one thinks of his studies in religious subjects, few men have tried harder to attend to the great language of faith and to make it the word of their daily lives.'<sup>3</sup> And there are as many as half a dozen entries from 'Oriental scriptures like *Mānava Dharma Shāstra*, the *Bhagavad Gita*, and Buddhistic works.

The poem, then, presents an integrated vision. I cannot see in it a statement of a stalemate.

V. S. SETURAMAN

<sup>1</sup> 'To the Greeks, foolishness'! May we say the Grecian Coaster is worth recalling here?

<sup>2</sup> Since writing this I find that Professor J. P. Curgenven has independently arrived at more or less the same conclusion about Arnold's aspirations and his attitude to Oriental thought; see '*The Scholar Gipsy*: A Study of the Growth, Meaning, and Integration of a Poem', *Litara*, iii (1956), 1-13, esp. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *The Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, ed. H. F. Lowry, K. Young, and W. H. Dunn (Oxford, 1952), p. xiii.

## REVIEWS

**English Place-Name Elements.** By A. H. SMITH. Part I, pp. lvi+306; Part II, pp. viii+418. (English Place-Name Society 25, 26.) Cambridge: University Press, 1956. 35s. each part.

One of the earliest publications of the English Place-Name Society was a slim volume of sixty-seven pages listing the chief elements used in the formation of English place-names. Now, with almost half the counties completed, the Director of the Survey brilliantly summarizes in two thick volumes the further knowledge that has been gained. These differ from the earlier book in that they include all probable elements, along with inflexional and formative endings. Nevertheless, they are intended merely as an interim report, and by the time the survey of the whole country has been completed other elements may have to be added, while some of those for which the evidence is slight may have to be discarded.<sup>1</sup>

An excellent introduction describes the purpose of the work, the types of place-name, grammatical usage in them, problems of interpretation, and dialectal variants. The bibliography is particularly full and useful, though to it there might perhaps have been added R. Blenner-Hassett, *A Study of the Place-Names in Lawman's Brut* (Stanford, 1950); E. Ekwall, 'Tribal Names in English Place-Names' (*Namn och Bygd*, xli (1953), 129-77); W. Fraser, *Field-Names in South Derbyshire* (Ipswich, 1947); H. D. Meritt, *Old English Glosses* (New York, 1945) and *Fact and Lore about Old English Words* (Stanford, 1954); and H. B. Woolf, *The Old Germanic Principles of Name-Giving* (Baltimore, 1939).

A major variation from the practice of the earlier volume is that the elements are listed in the Anglian instead of the West Saxon form. But the term Anglian seems to vary a good deal in its connotation. Sometimes it includes Mercian, East Anglian, and Northumbrian, sometimes only East Anglian and Northumbrian, while on occasion it appears to refer to East Anglian alone. Dialectal variants are usually though not always given for the head-words, and it is difficult to see why, for instance, Kentish forms are given for **bycge**, **bysc**, **hyll**, but not for **hylcðe**, **rydding**, since in all cases Kentish place-names are given in illustration. Similarly, the distinctively Mercian-Kentish variants in *e* (WS. *æ*) are given inconsistently.

Examples of the use of each element in place-names are arranged in three categories: (a) as a first element, (b) as a simple place-name, or as the final element of a compound, (c) as an affix. With the commoner elements there is a further subdivision by the types of word with which the element is combined. Such classification is often illuminating, and has been excellently carried out, though doubts occasionally remain. Avenham La (**af-nám**) should surely come under (b) not (a), as also Muker YN, Overacres Nb, Tarnacre La (**akr**); Bathamgate Db (**bæð**) looks as if it should be under (a) not (b); Minster Lovell O

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. K. Cameron for valuable criticisms, and to Mr. G. Barnes for information on Cheshire place-names.

(*myNSTer*) should presumably be under (c), and Crowhurst, Flighshot, Hart-sheath K (*scerte*) under (b) rather than (a). The illustrative material is drawn mainly from those counties already surveyed by the Society, those for which a good deal of material has been collected, or those for which full independent surveys exist. This is inevitable, and a map at the end of Part I shows clearly enough which counties will be poorly represented. A solid block of south-eastern and midland counties has been surveyed, along with Yorkshire, Cumberland, Devon, and Nottinghamshire, but most of East Anglia and Lincolnshire still remains, along with much of the west midlands, and a good deal of the south-west. Considering the importance of the literary and linguistic problems of the area it is particularly disappointing that so much remains to be done on the west midlands, but the reason—the intermixture of difficult Celtic elements—is obvious enough.

The historical value of place-name evidence has long been accepted, and it has been widely used in recent histories of the Anglo-Saxon period. Professor Bruce Dickins has shown the place-name evidence for Old English heathenism, and the introductions to the various volumes provide patches of light on political, social, and economic history which, when the survey is complete, can be expected to do something towards removing the darkness which hangs over so much of the period. Little that is completely new emerges here, but the evidence provided often adds fresh details which help to throw the picture into sharper focus.<sup>1</sup> This is particularly true of some of the longer and more important articles, as for example that on *bȳ*; the enlightening and lucid discussion of the *-ing* suffix under five headings; that on *þrop*, which provides evidence for the position of the Anglo-Saxons on the Continent; or, to take a more limited subject, the fact that four *reeve*-towns occur in Devon suggests the appearance in that county of a larger number of royal estates than usual, and perhaps indicates a comparatively late date for its conquest.<sup>2</sup>

The lexicographer, too, will find these two volumes indispensable. In the first place they have very considerably enlarged our knowledge of the Old English vocabulary. They include many words which are recorded in literature only from a much later date, and now have their known history carried back, often for many hundreds of years, by the evidence of place-names. So, for example, with *bur-tre*, of which the literary use dates from 1450 but which is recorded in place-names in the 12th century, *crabbe* (15th century—c. 1250), *graft* (17th century—1299), *lumber* (1552—1150), *riveling* (17th century—12th century), *spinney* (1600—13th century). They include more than one whole series of new words for which the only evidence comes from place-names. This is the case with the *-ett* ending, used with names of trees to denote 'a clump or a copse', and resulting in such words as *ācett*, *æscett*, *bēcett*, *þyrnett*; or the *-en* suffix, with the sense 'characterised by, growing with, overgrown with, made of', in

<sup>1</sup> But to speak of 'the hart as a symbol of royalty' (cf. Wrenn, *Beowulf*, 187, 314) (i. 261), is much too definite. Wrenn gives only a reference to Bruce-Mitford, who refers to Klaeber, who quotes what was merely a suggestion by Bugge.

<sup>2</sup> Excellent maps illustrate the knowledge so far gained by this type of evidence, but for the benefit of the historian it might have been as well to distinguish, if possible, between the two types of name in *-ingas*. Apparently only one of them is necessarily early, the other continuing in use throughout the Old English period (see i. 300).



**æcen**, **æscen**, **bircen**, **byxen**, &c. At the same time we must perhaps beware of assuming that such words were necessarily a genuine part of the ordinary OE. vocabulary; such suffixes remained in living use in the formation of place-names until at least well into the ME. period. Some have undergone *i*-mutation and so are presumably of early formation, e.g. **æcen**, **brēmen**, **bēcett**, while others are at least later than the period of mutation, e.g. **ācett**, **alren**, **gorsten**. For some of these formations, as also for some of the other elements, the evidence is so late that there can be no certainty that they actually existed in Old English. The point has not of course been ignored by the editor, who emphasizes that in such cases it is only for convenience that they have been referred to OE. forms (i. 161). Past experience suggests that earlier forms of these words may well turn up in the counties still to be surveyed, and it will be useful for the editors of these volumes to have all the possibilities before them.

Apart from such classes of words, the new lexicographical material falls into five divisions: (i) words not previously known from OE. but with well-known cognates in other Germanic languages, e.g. **anger**, **bēos**, **polra**; (ii) variants of well-established words, e.g. **cnyll** (**cnoll**), **hāð** (**hæð**), **ylme** (**elme**); (iii) words for which no cognate is known, e.g. **blōr**, **ceacce**, **celte**, **cisen**; (iv) others for which the only cognates are modern dialectal forms, e.g. **bedwinde**, **billere**, **clater**, **clenc**; (v) derivatives of words recorded in OE. or of words for whose existence in OE. there is good evidence, e.g. **beggere**, **bed-ærn**, **bōðl-tūn**, **byge**, **ceare**. The number of starred forms appearing in these volumes will give some idea of the contribution to lexicography made by place-name studies.<sup>1</sup> Yet it is not always easy to see why some words are starred when others, for which no better evidence is offered, are not. It would appear that if a word is recorded in OE. only as one element of a compound, the existence of the simple form is accepted as certain enough for the asterisk to be dispensed with. Hence **hiewe**, **hlif**, **lāge**, **lāte**, **malm**,<sup>2</sup> **nige**, **papol**, **popel**, **racu**, **sāte**<sup>1</sup>, **tig**<sup>2</sup>, **twist**, **týning**, **þefa**, **wacu** are given without asterisks, though all occur in OE. only in compounds. On the other hand, **hrōst**, **rāde**, **wealt**, **wōr**, which similarly appear only in compounds in OE., are starred. The same difficulty arises with some of the other words: **hangra**, **pyll**, **rāh-hege**, **gesell**, **wisce**, said to occur 'only in OE charter p. ns.', are unstarred, while **pide**, **ripp**, **rōd-stān**, **scydd**, **senget**, **styfic**, **sulig**<sup>1</sup>, **yfer** are starred, though they too apparently occur only in place-names in OE. charters. Again, **pidele**, **ripel**, **sceldu**, **scitere**, **slāp**, **wilig**, 'evidenced in OE only in p. ns.', are starred, but not **beonet**, **bicere**, **pottere**; **hæs**, **hrucge**, **plæsc**, **rimuc**, **roð**, **scrippa**, **slæget**, **steorf**, **trind**, **wind-geat**, found 'only in charter material', are duly starred, but not **celde**, **cocc-rod**, **lūs-þorn**, **plæg-stede**, **pund-fald**, **riðig**, **stoccen**, **stōd-fald**, **strōd**, **twisla**. It is said of **rysc** that there are no examples of this spelling in contemporary OE., and of **hām-tūn** that it is not on independent record in OE., but both are given without an asterisk. Certainly, in charters it must often be difficult to tell whether a word is used as a place-name or as an ordinary word, and so

<sup>1</sup> For simplicity of printing, asterisks are omitted from forms quoted in this review.

<sup>2</sup> Though apparently recorded only in the form *mealm*.

whether there is in fact evidence for it as part of the OE. vocabulary. No doubt the editor has some clear distinction present in his mind, but this is nowhere explained and is certainly not immediately obvious to the reader.

In addition, new or more definite meanings can now be assigned to many words. In some cases light is thus thrown on the meanings of obscure words in the literary texts. It is, of course, evidence that must be used with care, since the special meaning developed by the word as a place-name element may have been peculiar to this use. But the very fact that a word could develop such a sense may throw light on its possible meaning in a literary context. This problem of interpretation is perhaps the most difficult of all, particularly where figurative uses may be involved; where we have to deal with possible extensions of meaning; with the possible falling-together of different words; or with the possibility that the meaning of the element may have changed as the characteristics of the settlements changed. Fortunately it is a problem with which the editor is particularly well qualified to deal. This comes out excellently in his judicial analysis of the possible meanings of important elements such as *stōw* and *tūn*, as also in his comments on some of the less frequent ones. See, for example, the excellently argued interpretation of *crundel*; the skilful way in which the point is made in the article on *-ing*<sup>4</sup>; the complicated subject lucidly dealt with under *scelf*; or the masterly handling of cognates to show the possible meanings of *sceolh*. The different kinds of evidence are all made use of, but never uncritically: OE. glosses and translations from Latin; the consideration of cognate words; the use of local dialect material and topography; or the examination of the types of word with which the particular element is combined. The result is a much higher degree of certainty in the interpretation of place-names than has previously been possible. Even so, much remains doubtful. The forms available for any one name may allow of two or more possible explanations; there are still names that cannot be satisfactorily interpreted, such as Nursling Ha or Tardebigge Wo, and there are elements such as *haðel* or *pofel* whose meaning is not known, though their original form is certain.

A more doubtful type of evidence is that of 'the study of contextual references of elements which appear in Old and Middle English literary texts' (i. xxv). Useful information can sometimes be obtained from literary works in prose, especially from those which are translations from Latin or French, but in poetry the context is as a rule much too vague to give anything of value. Here, it is rather the student of literature who looks to the evidence of place-names for light on the meaning of the word in its literary context. For example, a *balz berz* in *Sir Gawain* 2172 may be almost any kind of mound, and it is the evidence of place-names and cognates which suggests the meaning 'rounded, smooth', not anything in the poem itself. Similarly, in *The Owl and the Nightingale* 1115 *heme* could be a rough synonym for *hine* or it could be an antonym, and we must look to other types of evidence to give a clue to its meaning. Nor, in its context in *Sir Gawain* 2145, is there anything to show that *brem* must have the sense 'rugged'. This is only a guess, and perhaps *breme* 'famous, well-known' would suit equally well. No doubt the editor is correct in taking the word to be an OE. *brēme* 'overgrown with broom', a derivative of *brōm*, and this might well have

developed the meaning 'wild, rugged', but its appearance in *Sir Gawain* tells us little about the exact sense.

From the counties so far surveyed we learn also a good deal about the provenance of some of the words. This is a question on which the evidence of the literary texts too often merely tantalizes. Exactly localized literary works are rare, and too widely separated in time to afford the exact information on the subject that we could wish for. When the survey is complete we are likely to know a good deal more about what words are characteristic of which dialects than we can ever obtain from the available literature. Already it is possible to draw tentative conclusions. Some words seem to have been confined to particular counties, as **clent** (Wo), **cost**<sup>1</sup> (Db), **dell** (mainly Ha), **scerte** (K), while **borg-steall** was apparently found only in K and Sx. Sometimes the area was larger; **camp** seems to have been confined to the south-east and the home counties; **clopp**, **crundel**, **cwabba**, **þrop** were distinctively WS.; **sciete** was chiefly S. and SMid.; while **hiwisc** was distinctively SW., and **snād**, **hāð** mainly SE. The north had **cā** where the south had **cādac**; **bōðl** was predominantly Northumbrian and Mercian; **ceacga** is limited to the S., **dingle** and **læcc** mainly WMid., **steorf** K. and WS.; while where most of the country had **brōc**, Du and Nb had **burna**. A more complicated case is that of **stede**, the localization of which is skilfully worked out by the editor.

As yet it is difficult to say exactly what light will be thrown by place-name material on the history of sounds, but the indications are that it may be considerable. It provides a series of forms which can be dated and localized much more accurately than is possible with most literary texts, and it covers the ground more completely both in space and time. There are, of course, difficulties. For the forms of place-names we are often dependent on official records, and these are likely to use the standard literary language of the period. Moreover, place-names are particularly subject to popular etymology, and unusual elements are apt to be replaced by commoner ones. Most important of all, we cannot always be so certain of the etymology as we should wish. Yet, despite these difficulties, 'Most place-names, . . . at least until the sixteenth century, adhere much more closely to local patterns of speech' (i, p. xxix), and can therefore give valuable information on the dialect of a particular area. Variant forms may also appear, but if one of these is a non-standard form which we have other reasons for associating with that area, and more particularly if the modern form is descended from this variant, then it is likely to represent the actual speech of the area. In the east midlands we have less certainty; we can never be sure that the ME. forms represent the true dialect and are not due to the influence of the Chancery language. But even here, an almost complete lack of forms of a different type would indicate that we are dealing with a true regional dialect.

It was, of course, no business of the editor to trace in any detail the evidence provided by place-names for the pronunciation of Old and Middle English, and he is usually content to point out that in general it supports the traditional developments as given in the grammars. Two points in which it tells against them are, however, made clearly enough. The compensatory lengthening assumed after the loss of *h* between liquid and vowel was certainly not common

OE., though it may have taken place in some areas. Such names as Hale Ch, Ha, K, L, Hales Nf, Sa, St, Wo, Sale Wheel La could only come from forms with a short vowel in OE. which had been lengthened in ME. On the other hand, Heal(e) D, W, Hele D may well be derived from forms with OE. *ēa*. Similarly, the lengthening and lowering of ME *i* to tense *ē* in open syllables is often said to have been distinctively northern, but place-names such as Cleeve So (**clifu**), Sleeve Co (**slifu**) suggest that in fact it was much more widespread, since *e* forms appear early.

But if these two points are made explicitly by the editor, there are many others implicit in the material made available. Most important of all, the place-name forms make it clear that the apparent simplicity and clear-cut division of dialects during the Old and Middle English periods has no foundation in fact. It is entirely due to the lack of sufficient texts illustrating all the different areas; to the tendency towards a common mixed dialect fostered by copying by a number of different scribes; and to the desire of grammarians for regularity of pattern. In addition, it seems likely that the so-called isolative changes were much less regularly carried out than is assumed, and that in the combinative changes there was a much more irregular influence from the neighbouring sounds. For example, the further raising of *æ* to *e* is usually assumed to have been distinctively Mercian and Kentish, but such forms as Eppleton Du (**æpplen**), Espley Nb (**æspe**), Ellenthorpe YN (**æðeling**), Hesleden Du (**hæsel**), with frequent *e* forms in ME., suggest that there may well have been other areas in which the change took place. On the other hand, Hasbury Wo (**hæsel**), with *a* forms only, may indicate that the raising to *e* was far from being uniform throughout West Mercia. A more complicated business, and one that has already been used in dialectal studies, is the further raising of *æ* to *ē* in non-WS. As Professor Smith points out, the earlier investigation by Brandl 'is not adequate, partly because insufficient material was available, partly because little distinction between forms recorded locally and those recorded in Chancery documents was made, and partly because certain very common types of place-name can assume standardized spellings at an early date' (i, pp. xxx-xxx). Nevertheless, the evidence provided by the Place-Name Society's surveys 'would seem to corroborate Brandl's theory' (i, p. xxxi), although 'if place-names like these were created in the earliest OE they might have already undergone a shortening at the *æ* stage, and might well then appear as *Strattun*, *Stratford* in the Midl and North (as they in fact do)' (i, p. xxxv). Whether such early shortening is probable may perhaps be doubted, and the possibility appears to be suggested merely to explain forms which will not fit into our preconceived pattern. It may be the explanation; but it is at least as likely that the further raising to *ē* was not carried out regularly and invariably throughout the whole of the non-WS. territory. Startforth YN (**stræt**), with ME. *e*, *a* side by side, could perhaps be explained as a metathesized *e* form with later change of *er* to *ar*, but Stratford Nth, Stradsett, Stratton Nf, with only *a* in ME., might equally well suggest that there were other areas than Wessex in which the raising had not taken place.

It seems likely, too, that fracture of *æ* before *l* plus consonant is a good deal more complicated than the grammars suggest. The usual theory is that fronting

and fracture took place in these conditions in WS. and K., but not in Anglian, so that where the former dialects had forms such as *eald*, *ceald*, the latter would have *ald*, *cald*. Dr. Smith speaks of 'the spread of Midland forms like *cold* or *well* into the South (where *chold* and *will* or *wull* would have been correct)' (i, p. xxix, cf. i, p. xxxi), but it is not too clear what he has in mind. Perhaps he assumes WS. *ceald* to have undergone shift of stress to *chald*—and there is other evidence for such a shift—with later lengthening and rounding before the consonant group. But the literary evidence suggests that *ea* before *l* plus consonant was by no means invariable throughout the south, since in early OE. *a* appears by the side of usual *ea* in texts which we have every reason to suppose pure WS. It seems likely that it was only in a small part of the area that *ea* forms were regular, but that this dialect became the literary language. Place-name material seems to support such a conclusion. Cackets Fm, Cauldham K, Caldecote Bk (*cald*) have only *a* forms, along with an initial back consonant; Aldwick Sx, So (*ald*) seem to have regular *a* forms, so that *ald* is unlikely to be due to a late replacement; and similarly Halstead K, Haldley Wt, Holdstone D (*hald*) have regular *a* forms. When OE. forms of a southern place-name appear, they usually have *ea*, as in Waldrige Bk, Waltham Brk, Waltham, Ringwoud K, Waltham Ha (*wald*) but the invariable *a* in ME., along with the form of the modern name, would suggest that OE. *ea* was due to the influence of the official language, and did not reflect the actual speech of the area. Similarly, Waldershare, Studdal K, Waltham Sx (*wald*) have only *a* forms; Walderslade K has mostly *a* and only two *e*'s while, on the other hand, Weald Hu has mainly *e* and only very occasional *a*. It seems likely enough that fracture of *æ* before *l* plus consonant was regularly carried out only in part of the WS.-K. area, and when the remaining southern counties have been surveyed it may be possible to delimit this district, and to suggest reasons why it should have influenced the standard language, or may even have formed the basis of it.

So far as the fronting of *c* and *g* is concerned, the place-name forms appear to work out much as would be expected. This is certainly the case with *calc* and *calf*, though the initial back stop in the above *cald* forms would not have been expected and it is surprising to find a fronted form as far north as Charlock Nth (*cald*). Similarly, in names compounded with *micel*, 'Spellings with medial *-k-* are NCy or NMid in origin or are due to the influence of ON *mikill*' (ii. 40). Muckleford Do, which apparently has no fronted forms, would seem an exception, but PN<sup>1</sup> rejects connexion with *micel* simply because of the lack of *ch* forms. On the other hand, *celce* and *celf* seem to have almost invariable *c-/k-* forms. Hence, Kelfield L, YE, Kelso Scotl, Kelk YE (*celce*), and note also Bede's *Kælcacæstir*; Cauldon St, Kelloe Du, Kilpin YE (*celf*). When *sc-* occurred before a back vowel there seems to have been a good deal of variation, fronting having taken place in some dialects but not in others, e.g. Sherston W, Shoreditch Mx, Shoresworth La, Nb (*scora*), Shorncliffe K (*scoren*), but Scorsham Co, Compton Scorpion Wa, Score D (*scoru*); and similar variation is found in the treatment of the group *scr-*.

<sup>1</sup> PN is used to denote the appropriate county place-name survey, whether published by the Place-Name Society or independently.

Front mutation is probably the most complicated of all the sound changes in its results in the different dialects, and the evidence of place-names suggests that it was even more complicated than the grammarians suppose. The mutation of *a/o* before a nasal to *æ* is given by Dr. Smith, under **denn**, as East Saxon, but occasional *æ* forms in WS. literary texts, and the evidence of place-names, suggest that it must have been much more extensive. In Danehill Sx (**denn**) the regular ME. forms in *a* suggest OE. *æ*; Fancott Bd (**fenn**), Pann, Black Pan Wt (**penn**) have 13th-century *a* forms from which the modern forms must be derived, and Wanborough Sr, W have numerous *a* forms from the end of the 11th century. But perhaps the most difficult problem is the mutation of *a/ea* before *l* plus consonant. According to the grammars, the result should be WS. *ie*, K. *e*, Angl. *æ*. Dr. Smith regularly gives the *æ* forms as distinctively Mercian, but it is clear that in OE. they were much more widespread, and it may be noted that under '**stell** OE (Angl, Kt), **stiell** (WSax), **stæll** (Merc)' an example of **stæll** is given from the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. Nevertheless, in ME. the literary evidence indicates that *a* forms, from OE. *æ*, are in fact confined to the west midlands, and the place-names support this, though Wansford Nth, Hu (**welm**) may indicate an extension eastwards of the *æ* area. It may be that in the OE. period *æ* in such words had already been further raised to *e* in Northumbria and the greater part of east Mercia, though the spelling with *æ* was often retained. The evidence also suggests that *ie* forms were by no means regular throughout the whole of Wessex, and if this were so it would help to explain the frequency of *e* in such words in SW. texts during the early ME. period. Clyst William D (**æwel**), Warmwell Do (**wella**) have mainly *e* forms; Quelfurlong W (**cwelle**) has only *e*; and Wells So (**wella**) has OE. *i* but otherwise *e*. Similarly with the mutation of *ea* in other words. Chittlehampton D (**cetel**), as we should expect, has almost invariable *i* forms, but Chettiscombe D, Chettle Do (**cetel**) have only *e*. Frant Sx (**fernðe**) apart from a Charter form of 956, has only *e*, whereas Fawley Ha (**fileðe**) seems to have only ME. *a* forms, which should represent Mercian **fæleðe** and Felton Hill Nb, Field K (**fileðe**) have only *i* instead of the expected *e*. It is obvious enough that place-name forms lend little support to the pleasing regularity usually to be found in the grammars, and it is likely that in this they reflect much more closely the actual linguistic conditions of the period.

As a further example, we may take the development of OE. *y* in ME. On the whole the place-names seem to confirm the traditional developments as derived from the literary sources, but there are some indications of different local or combinative developments. Kentish *e* pretty clearly spread well beyond the limits of the modern county, and was regular in Essex, as also in the eastern parts of Sussex and Surrey, and before *r* this development must have been even more widespread. But simply because, on the whole, the forms work out so well, apparent exceptions require explanation. Birch Ess (**bryce**) has so few *e* forms that PN prefers derivation from **bierce**, and it is surprising to find no *e* forms at all for Bridge K (**brycg**). **Byden**, too, often gives difficulty; Beardwell W has only *e* in ME., Bidwell D has *e* and *i* only, while Betham, Bidna, Bennah D have *i* only in ME. For Bibbern Do there is available only a single ME. form in *i*, and Beedon Brk has *e* in the DB form. If the suggested etymologies are correct



the absence of *u* forms would suggest some special combinative change, perhaps early unrounding before a dental. Similarly, Bilford Wo (*bylte*) has only *i* forms; Gillridge K (*gylden*) has only *i* in the first element but with the expected *e* in the second, while Repton Db, with numerous *e* forms and a modern form in *e* as compared with Ribston, Ripley, Ripon YW, suggests derivation from a by-form *Hreope* rather than from *Hrype*. The invariable *i* in Hile Do (*hygel*) may be due to the following *g*; Marvell Wt (*myrig*) looks as if it came from an earlier *e*, in which case the development may be due to the following *r*, as also in Spartlea Nb, *Sperte* Wo (*spyrt*), while Sheepsbyre, Sheepstor D (*scyttels*), with ME. *i* and *e* only, may be due to the influence of the initial *sc*.

Such remarks can, of course, only be tentative, since no attempt has been made to work through the available material in any detail. However, they will perhaps give some indication of the possible importance of place-name study for our knowledge of Old and Middle English dialects and sound-changes. In addition, there are some more localized changes of which no hints appear in the literary sources but for which evidence is to be found in the place-names, e.g. the development of OE. *alor* to *oller* in the west and north midlands;<sup>1</sup> the retention of diphthongs for the OE. diphthongs in parts of the south; or the development of a prosthetic [j] in such names as Yarmouth Wt (*ĕaren*), Yarnfield W, Yarnscombe D (*earn*), Yaverland Wt (*eofor*), Yearlestone D (*eorl*), Yeatheridge D (*erð*).

Most of the names illustrating the use of the elements are taken from the counties for which full surveys are available. But other counties have also to some extent been used, and it may be useful to consider how far the knowledge of a fuller range of forms than may have been available to the editor is likely to affect the suggested etymologies. I have had access to much unpublished material dealing with the place-names of Cheshire, and if these are to be taken as representative, it may be said at once that only in a few cases does the fuller range of forms cast doubt on the etymologies given here. In Beeston the *u*, *ui* forms are few and come only from Chancery documents; the prevalence of *e* makes derivation from *byge* improbable, while the not uncommon *a* in the second element would suggest *-stān* rather than *-tūn*. Hoole is placed under both *hol*<sup>1</sup> and *hulu*, but the complete lack of *u* forms makes the latter suggestion improbable. Stretton (*stīrc*) seems to be based on a solitary example of *Streton*, and the usual spellings would indicate an OE. *strēt-tūn*.

The fact that in only these few names does a different explanation seem probable would suggest that few of the etymologies given are likely to be invalidated by further evidence. But there are others which seem to be doubtful:

**æl.** In Alford L we should expect Ang. *e*, but Ekwall gives only *a* forms (2), and suggests an OE. *alr-ford*.

**æðeling.** The mixture of *a*, *e*, *ey* forms in Elton Hu, and the absence of any medial vowel after the *-ing-*, suggest rather derivation from the personal name *Æpel* + *ingtūn*.

**atten.** A ME. *attem* would hardly be expected for Mapleton K, Mayland Ess.

<sup>1</sup> Since Bicknoller So is given as an example of the change, presumably it must have spread also to the SW.



The former has only *N*-forms in ME., and PN connects these very doubtfully with the modern Mapleton. For the second PN prefers *mægþa*. **banā.** Bonchurch Wt has invariable *o*, and this makes such a derivation most unlikely.

**borg<sup>1</sup>.** In Flamborough YE, Scarborough YN the forms provide no definite evidence for **borg** as the second element. Presumably it is assumed because the first element is Scandinavian. But such a procedure is dangerous since it would tend to diminish the number of possible hybrids, and so might falsify the final picture. In any case it should be noted that in such names as Felbrigg Nf, OE. **brycg** is assumed as the second element to ON. **fjöll**.

**brēow-ærn.** Ælfric's *brēawern* suggests a first element **brēaw-**, and this would certainly fit better Ekwall's forms for Brawne Gl.

**burg.** The forms for Musbury La are essentially the same as for Musbury D (**burh**), and the presence of a fort at the latter but not at the former is no argument for a different etymology; see i. 60, (4) (b).

**burh.** Berrington Nb seems to have invariable *e* and medial *-ing-*, so that PN *Bæringadūn* seems preferable.

**bydel.** PN is doubtful of the identity of Beldhamland Sx with earlier *Bedellond*. If the two do not refer to the same place there seems no reason to assume **bydel** as the source of the modern name.

**byxen.** Bexington Do. The almost invariable *e* forms are against such an etymology, and PN suggests *Beorhtsigingtūn*.

**garör.** Vinegarth YE 'vineyard'. Such a meaning so far north sounds suspicious, and the earlier form *Wyndgarthe* suggests a much more plausible sense.

**gyse.** The frequent *-r-* in the ME. forms of Gussage Do suggests that PN **gyrs** is perhaps more likely.

**hearpe.** Harptree So. The OE. (*recte* DB) *Harpeðreu* hardly suggests derivation from **herepæð**, and none of the other forms provides evidence for such an etymology.

**hencg.** Is there any justification for making two words out of **hencg** and **henge**? In such a position the *cg* can hardly be historically correct, and **hencg** must surely be a mere spelling variant for **henge**. Similarly with **hencgen**, which Bosworth-Toller gives as a variant of **hengen**.

**hiwan.** The early *e* forms for Henbury Do would perhaps suggest rather PN *hēanbyrig*.

**læge.** Layriggs Cu. For this PN prefers ON. *leirr* + *hryggr*.

**lēah.** If the second element of Farlam Cu, Acklam YE, YN is in all cases the d. pl. of **lēah**, some local development would seem to be involved. Farlam Cu has only *a* in the ending from the 12th century onwards, whereas Acklam YE, YN, have only *u*, *o* until 1399 in one case and the 16th century in the other. The difference perhaps indicates rather the PN *Fearnlēah-hām* for the Cu name.

**mēos.** Mosley Nt. Apart from a single *e* form *o* is invariable. This may indicate a different etymology, or perhaps a special development of OE. *ēo* in this area for which there seems to be some slight evidence.

**myln.** Melpash Do. The almost invariable *e* in ME. makes this etymology unlikely, and PN gives it up.

**(ge)mȳðe.** Meeth(e) D are included also under **mæð**, the etymology suggested in PN. Since both have ME. *e* only, this certainly seems the more probable.

**pirigen.** Parndon Ess appears also under **peren**, and from the forms this seems preferable.

**plega.** The *w* forms from the 13th century in Plawhatch Sx hardly support the suggestion that **plaga** was Anglian.

**scēap.** Shipbourne K. The invariable *i* forms until the 14th century are against this, and PN prefers **scir**<sup>2</sup>.

**slæd.** Sledmere YE has only *e*, and PN suggests ONb. *sled*.

**strōdett.** Strettit Ho K is given in PN as very doubtfully connected with the earlier *Strodett*, and if it is, the modern name must be from a mutated by-form.

**tȳning.** Timbold K has early *a* forms which make such an etymology rather doubtful.

In these cases the interpretation accepted by the editor appears doubtful, but he would be the last to claim any certainty in such matters. More than once he gives a suggested etymology only as possible or probable, and frequently emphasizes the fact that with the forms available two or more explanations may be possible for a particular name. Moreover, few place-name scholars have had a longer or more varied experience of the subject. He has dealt with so many runs of forms, and knows so well the possibilities of corruption and change, whether due to scribes or popular etymology, that one can only differ from him at one's own peril. More especially when only late forms are available, few but the editor will have the necessary knowledge to link them with similar runs of forms for which earlier examples are known, and to arrive at the etymology of some name which a less experienced worker in the field would hardly dare to guess at. Yet, despite the warnings, one finishes the two volumes with an uneasy feeling that to the general reader the whole business may seem much more certain and definite than it really is.

For all those concerned with any aspect of medieval studies, this is certainly one of the most important books to appear for some time, and one that could have been written by few other people. It must and will be used constantly by the linguist, the lexicographer, and the historian, all of whom will find it indispensable, and to each of whom it will contribute considerable new material. The lengthy articles on such elements as **bȳ**, **tūn**, **-ing**, **stede**, with their careful synthesis of the results of the latest scholarship, lucid exposition, brilliant analysis, and methodical arrangement of a mass of information, will inevitably attract most attention, but almost any entry will show the particular qualities of the editor, his wide and extensive knowledge in the related fields, and his power of controlling and illuminating his material. Equally exceptional is his ability to compress a mass of information into a small space, and yet to remain clear and unambiguous. In no other country is the study of place-names more scientifically carried out, and much of this pre-eminence is owed to the present Director of the Survey, who has ably and successfully carried on the work of his predecessors.

R. M. WILSON

**Die alt- und mittelenglischen Apollonius-Bruchstücke.** Edited by JOSEF RAITH. Pp. xii+132. München: Hueber, 1956. DM. 12.

Editions of three versions of the *Apollonius* story form the separate parts of this book, each consisting of a critical text and introduction. The first and most important part deals with the Old English version, the second with the Middle English fragment, and the third with the Latin version which is represented by some of the manuscripts extant in England. The ME. version, composed at Wimborne about the middle of the fourteenth century, survives in the two pages of MS. Douce 216 and contains only the conclusion of the story. It had been unsatisfactorily edited before. Professor Raith has a good text and his introduction includes sections on the language and the relationship to the Latin source.

The many Latin manuscripts of *Apollonius* are divided into three main groups. The first group (A) and the second (B) offer divergent but sound texts. The third group (C) contains the large majority of the manuscripts, which are mixed and corrupt products of A and B. In the subsection C<sub>3</sub> the English manuscripts are included, and it is the basic text of this group that Dr. Raith has edited, having narrowed the range to the further subsection C<sub>3a</sub> for the purpose. His basic manuscript is MS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 318. There is no doubt that this edition is a useful contribution to *Apollonius* studies. It should be stressed, however, that Dr. Raith's text represents the Latin manuscripts extant in England and is not intended to be a reconstruction of the source of the OE. translation, although this lost source belongs to the C<sub>3</sub> group. In the apparatus variant, corrupt readings from other C<sub>3a</sub> manuscripts are given, and by referring to these a closer approximation to the source of the OE. may be reached, but not as close as is possible because the range has been limited to C<sub>3a</sub> manuscripts. This limitation has led, in the introduction to the first part of the book, to some minor misinterpretation of the OE. translator's performance. On pp. 41-42, for example, a number of passages from the Latin are listed as having been omitted by the translator, but of these passages many can be found to be omitted from a wider range of manuscripts than Dr. Raith used, and it is very probable that they were also missing from the translator's source.

Dr. Raith's introduction to the OE. text contains much useful information which contributes to a better understanding of it than has been possible before. The relationship between the translation and its source is examined in detail on pp. 40 ff., and this section is informative if the reservations about the reliability of the conjectured source mentioned above are borne in mind; but many details are overlooked. The extent of the translator's paraphrase is larger than the treatment leads us to suppose. The same applies to his mistranslations, e.g. 17/7 *ut eode* (perrexit); also 10/6, 13/27, 16/18. Dr. Raith also lists errors which the translator inherited from his corrupt source manuscript; but the list is by no means complete. It cannot be stressed too much that the deficiencies of the OE. translation are largely due to the poor quality of the source manuscript. For example, in 1/15 the OE. tells us that after violating his daughter Antiochus wished to conceal the fact. This mistake comes from the source (1/14): 'perfectoque scelere cupit celare'. But according to A, the father exulted openly

to his household at what he had done and it was the daughter, not the father, who wanted to conceal the evidence: 'perfectoque scelere *evasit cubiculum. Puella vero stans dum miratur scelesti patris impietatem coepit celare.*' There are many other examples of corruption derived from the source which could supplement Dr. Raith's list. Of the corruptions which he does give more explanation would have been helpful (there is a misprint in the quotation given of 10/8 (p. 41); it should be 'quod singulos modios *singulis* aureis mercabantur'). Dr. Raith, like all other commentators, abandons all hope of solving the corruption in 20/3-4 (reflected in the OE.): 'domina, nondum mulier mala, sume codicellos'. A's reading, from which it derives, gives some sense that fits the context: 'domina, es nondum mulier et male habes; sume codicellos' ('Mistress, you are not yet a grown woman and you have evil thoughts; take the letters'). The corruption in 22/16 (also reflected in the OE.) is left unexplained: 'abii post eum'. It is a garbling of 'ab ipso tibi' in A.

In the phonology section various late forms are explained linguistically, but they are not universally accepted into the text. It is not easy to discover the principle determining emendation. For example, 10/4 *willan* (pres. subj.), 49/12 *minon* (dat. sg.) are retained in the text, while 10/17 *awriten* (pret. pl.), 15/15 *nomon* (dat. sg.) are emended, and yet all are considered to be genuine forms. The likelihood that some of these forms are scribal errors is not considered. A striking case is 1/2 *ceastre* (nom. sg.), which is described as a late form but emended to *ceaster* in the text. It is, however, very probably a careless scribal repetition of the dative form *ceastre* in the previous line.

There is an enormous section on the word order and pages of quotations show the position of verbs in subordinate clauses. The total result is that the style has no special features of its own, though it is nearer to Ælfric than to Wulfstan. A point might have been scored if some of the syntactical usage had been related to the Latin. Some false concords, for example, could have been examined from this point of view (p. 30): 10/13, 12/24, 48/9, 50/23.

Dr. Raith's book is the product of close and careful analysis. In a work of such minute and extensive detail exposure to argumentative criticism is particularly great. Although space precludes discussion of individual controversial points, it is to the credit of the author that these are proportionately few and most of the exposition and the text are authoritative. The weakness of some of the explanatory comment lies in the fact that the Latin source has not been built up as closely as is possible. Lack of cross reference from the text to the introduction is also an inconvenience; but these criticisms are offset by the general quality of the whole work, and besides the OE. we have interesting editions of the ME. and Latin versions.

P. GOOLDEN

**The Gawain-Poet. Studies in his Personality and Background.** By HENRY LYTTELTON SAVAGE. Pp. xviii+236. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1956. 48s. net.

*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, which has suffered much of late years from

the irrelevances of seasonal myth, seems destined next to be subjected to the scarcely more relevant processes of antiquarian speculation. The poet himself has eluded pursuit, and the hunt turns now to his chief characters. Dr. Savage's book, in spite of its title, is only intermittently concerned with the poet. It is arranged in three chapters, 120 pages in all, and eleven appendixes occupying almost another hundred pages; and the major part of it—Chapter III, of 70 pages, and most of the appendixes—seeks to find a model for Sir Gawain in Enguerrand, last Sire de Coucy. Professor d'Ardenne, in lectures at Cambridge in 1956 and in London in 1958, has connected the Green Knight with Amedeus VI, Count of Savoy. No doubt such identifications, if they could be established, would add something to knowledge of the poet's social connexions and might help to date his work; but they could surely contribute nothing worth while to our understanding of the power and the subtlety of his poetry.

Enguerrand's principal claims are these: he lived in England (first as a hostage) between 1363 and 1377; he married Isabella, daughter of Edward III, was made Earl of Bedford and a knight of the Garter, and was given great estates in the north-west of England; but when Charles V declared war again in 1377 he went back to his French allegiance, renounced his Garter, and abandoned his wife; and soon afterwards he apparently founded an 'Order of the Crown'. Dr. Savage sees in his career three parallels to elements in the story of Sir Gawain; he calls them 'the rejection of the lady', 'the infraction of the oath', and 'the foundation of a new order of chivalry'. Of the first, for example, he writes that both knights 'were compelled to reject the affectionate pleadings of a lady, . . . then to go firmly and finally from the loving female who bade stay'. He recognizes that the parallel breaks down when it is taken farther (in fact it does not hold even as far as this—there is no evidence of Isabella's 'affectionate pleadings') and disarmingly admits, over and over again, that his conclusions fall short of proof; but on the whole he believes that 'the chances are rather more than less that the poet intended to represent an actual sitter: and of all known sitters the likeliest is the seventh Sire de Coucy' (p. 103).

Dr. Savage's labours in records, chronicles, and heraldry have been long and exacting, and have produced a good deal that is interesting in itself; but this thesis is impossible to follow in general or in particular. He holds that 'those who doubt that there exists any connection between the poem and contemporary personages fall into . . . egregious error', but all he can say to justify the accusation is that 'those who so think . . . do not know truly the *Gawain*-poet' (p. 112). Are we to suppose that the poet could work only from living models? There can surely be no resemblance of mood or feeling between the fates of Enguerrand and of Gawain. Enguerrand broke his ties with England and that, as far as we know, was the end of it; why should an English poet—writing, moreover, in a dialect which may well have been understood on the Coucy estates in the north-west but can have meant little to the Sire or his friends at court—imply a comparison with the complex circumstances of Gawain's return to Camelot, shamefaced but honoured?

Apart from the Coucy material the book contains little of substance that is new. Chapter II, on the symbolism of the hunts, is a slightly extended reprint of

Dr. Savage's well-known article in *J.E.G.P.*, xxvii (1928), 1-15. Chapter I accepts without discussion that the four poems of MS. Cotton Nero A x are the work of a single author, and that *St. Erkenwald* is very probably his also. It offers some general reflections on the qualities of the 'Master Anonymous', and raises hopes briefly by touching on his imagery; but soon dashes them with profitless contrasts of his work with Chaucer's: 'It goes without saying that the two homilies [*Purity* and *Patience*] are far better reading than *Melibeus* or *The Parson's Tale*' (p. 24). Though the book bears the date 1956 it must have been completed some years earlier and unfortunately not brought up to date, for the author nowhere mentions Gordon's edition of *Pearl*, which appeared in 1953. (He has himself since reviewed it in *M.L.N.*, lxxi (1956), 124-9.) Much of what he has to say, especially on the language of these poems, is consequently inadequate.

Some lesser matters of style and presentation may be noticed. In a work of scholarship it is disconcerting to read (one example among many) that 'Isabella, the darling of her royal father . . . must have been a very lovely lady . . . probably really eager for the right man to appear' (p. 59). What can Dr. Savage mean when he says that 'Chaucer's mellifluous verse is far more free from alliteration with its memory of Teutonic stress rather than of *Latin quantity*' (p. 28)? There are some odd uses of words, such as 'typography of the Middle Ages' (p. 5), *Craven-shire* (pp. 147, 149), and printer's errors of various kinds from *Summa Theologia* (p. 13) to *Montreuil-sur-Mere* (p. 85); most are obvious, but seemed for second, p. 104, l. 12, may cause difficulty.

N. D.

***Deonise Hid Diuinite and other treatises on Contemplative Prayer related to The Cloud of Unknowing.*** Edited by PHYLLIS HODGSON. Pp. lx+158 (Early English Text Society 231). London: Oxford University Press for the Society, 1955. 30s. net.

This book might be called a model exercise in the preparation and presentation of a Middle English text. There is an assurance in the arrangement and collation of the various manuscripts which would have excited the admiration of the great Classical editors of the nineteenth century. The introductory discussion on style proves beyond doubt the unity of authorship of the five treatises, and their attribution to the author of *The Cloud*, and makes of the editor's conclusion ('there is no evidence from a comparison of the five treatises with *The Cloud* and *Prive Counseling* to invalidate the hypothesis of single authorship') the most disarming of understatements; whilst her analysis of the language and vocabulary justifies in detail what is said in *The Continuity of English Prose* concerning the excellence and originality of the prose style. It is only when Professor Hodgson comes to deal with the thorny question of sources that she appears to be on less sure ground.

At first sight, it would seem that there should be little or no difficulty with the first of the five treatises, *Deonise Hid Diuinite*. As Dom Justin McCann has clearly demonstrated,<sup>1</sup> 'þe nakid lettre of þe text' is the translation of the Pseudo-

<sup>1</sup> *'The Cloud of Unknowing' and other Treatises* (London, 1924), pp. 250-83.



Dionysian *Mystica Theologia* by Joannes Sarracenus, and 'pe sentence of pe Abbot of Seinte Victore' is to be found in the *Extractio* or paraphrase of the same work by Thomas Gallus, founder-abbot of the Victorine Monastery of St. Andrew of Vercelli. Dom Justin McCann was able to show that though the first three chapters of the *Deonise Hid Diuinite* are, by and large, a faithful version of Sarracenus, the last two are a translation of Gallus's paraphrase.

But the most unsatisfactory portion of Miss Hodgson's edition (perhaps the only really unsatisfactory portion, if we exclude the relegation to an apparently unimportant appendix of the ME. version of the *Scala Claustralium*—a cornerstone in the history of medieval spiritual writing) is the extremely complicated 'apparatus' attached to her Appendix A—the Latin sources of the *Deonise Hid Diuinite*. In her desire to show the author of *The Cloud*'s immediate dependence on his declared or undeclared sources, she cites not only from the *Extractio* of Gallus, where the text of the Appendix is the translation of Sarracenus, and vice versa, but from a commentary of Gallus,<sup>1</sup> and also from a set of glosses on the same work.<sup>2</sup>

It must be pointed out first of all that the citation of these glosses is an unnecessary complication; for it has been shown fairly conclusively that even if Thomas Gallus did write glosses on the *Mystical Theology* (which one may reasonably doubt),<sup>3</sup> as well as a paraphrase and a commentary, these particular glosses are not to be attributed to him; they are the work of a commentator on the *Mystical Theology* who is using as his text the paraphrase, and also consulting the *Explanatio* or Commentary of Gallus.<sup>4</sup>

Secondly, it is highly unlikely that the author of the *Deonise Hid Diuinite* used the *Explanatio* (as opposed to the paraphrase) as an immediate source. The *Explanatio* is a 'running' commentary, in which the successive phrases of the translation of Sarracenus (Gallus's text of the *Mystica Theologia*) are interwoven with exposition, example, and prolific citation from Sacred Scripture and all the other works of Dionysius. Certainly, none of the passages cited by Miss Hodgson from the *Explanatio* bear any immediate linguistic relation to the ME. version. And if we recall the similarity that there is between the prologue of Gallus to his paraphrase and 'pe Prolog upon pe Translacioun of Deonise Hid Diuinite',<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Explanatio super Mystica Theologia*. This was edited in 1934 (Paris) by Gabriel Théry, O.P., *L'Explanatio sur la Théologie mystique de Thomas Gallus*, from the best MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Those attributed to John Scot Erigena in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, cxxii. 267 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. James Walsh, S.J., '*Sapientia Christianorum*. The Doctrine of Thomas Gallus, Abbot of Vercelli, on Contemplation', a thesis presented at the Gregorian University, Rome, 1957, pp. 15-17.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. F. Ruello: 'Un commentaire dionysien en quête d'auteur' in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, xix (1952), 141-81. Ruello conjectures that the glosses may be the work of the English Franciscan Adam Marsh, a friend of Thomas Gallus.

<sup>5</sup> Gallus says: 'Quum in libris magni Dionysii Areopagitae geminam experieris difficultatem, unam stili, alteram sententiae . . . studui quadam compendiosa extractione sensum . . . stilo communi exprimere, prout sententia videbatur permittere, aliqua interserens delucidationis gratia, non valde prolixa.' *Dionysii Carthus. Opera Omnia* (Tournai, 1902), xv. 29 (italics mine). Our author says: ' . . . to declare pe hardnes of it (exprimere, difficultatem), I have moche folowed pe sentence (sententia) of pe Abbot of Seinte Victore, a noble & a worpi *expositour* (exprimere) of pis same book' (italics mine).



we may fairly conclude that the author of the latter is following, as he translates, the text of Sarracenus, and the *Extractio* of Vercellensis, and nothing more.

These are niggling details of criticism, to be sure. But they serve to illustrate two important points in our estimation of the author of *The Cloud* in his use of his sources: his power and originality of expression within the framework of substantial fidelity to his chosen texts, and the degree of his assimilation of the complete spiritual doctrine of Vercellensis. The contemplative teaching of the author of *The Cloud* is not Dionysian pure and simple, nor is it derived simply from the *Mystica Theologia*. It is based on the teaching of Vercellensis, who not only interprets the *Mystica Theologia* in the light of the whole Dionysian corpus, but makes his interpretation an integral part of that spiritual tradition which is known as Western Mysticism: a traditional spirituality signalized in Augustine's christianization of Neoplatonism, in the teaching of Gregory the Great, of Bernard and the Cistercian Spirituals, of the Victorines, Hugh and Richard. Thomas Gallus believed that the last stages in the ascent to contemplation were explained in the *Mystica Theologia*: but that a fuller explanation was given in Richard of St. Victor's *Beniamin Maior*, where Richard deals with the sixth grade of contemplation,<sup>1</sup> and further elaborated in the same author's *De Trinitate*; for the object of Contemplation is God as He is, One and Three. Gallus never saw any contradiction between the *Mystique de la Lumière* of the Augustinians, and the Dionysian *Mystique de la Ténèbre*.

It is this synthesized and rebaptized Neoplatonism which the author of *The Cloud* inherits, and in the light of which he comes to translate the *Mystica Theologia*. He can say on the one hand with Dionysius that 'in avoidyng of al knowing þat is algates unknowen he is knittyd unto hym on þe best maner', that the heights of contemplation are covered in the Divine Darkness; and with Richard and the Augustinians he can say that 'to come to contemplacioun of God' is to come to 'sigt of God'.<sup>2</sup>

For Gallus, as for Bonaventure after him, the seat of the mystical faculty is the *scintilla synderesis*, the *apex mentis*, where takes place the transforming union of the soul with God: a doctrine which has its roots in Origen and Augustine. In the terminology of *The Cloud*, this is the sovereign point of the spirit where 'is þe mariage maad betwix God and þe soule'.<sup>3</sup> The author of *The Cloud* thus looks forward as well as backwards. He is a contemporary in doctrine as well as in time with Ruysbroek; and he is in the stream of that spirituality which finds its fullest expression in the writings of St. John of the Cross. He is a witness to the essential continuity of the mystical tradition inaugurated in the West by St. Augustine; and his writings are a rebuttal of the exaggerated assertion that Western Mysticism took a novel and revolutionary turn with the Dionysian school of Thomas Gallus. It may be true that the thirteenth-century interest in Dionysius

<sup>1</sup> Richard of St. Victor's *Beniamin Minor*, the source of *A Tretyse of þe Stodye of Wysdome þat Men clepen Beniamin*, is the introduction to the *Beniamin Maior*, whose alternative title in Gallus's phraseology is *De Arte Contemplationis*.

<sup>2</sup> *A Tretyse of þe Stodye of Wysdome* . . . , p. 45. For other apparently contradictory statements cf. *A Pistle of Preier*, pp. 53-55, with *A Pistle of Discrecioun of Stirings*, pp. 72-73, or with *A Tretis of Discrecyon of Spirites*, p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> *A Pistle of Preier*, p. 46.

brings into clear focus the negative aspect of the divine dialectic; but this antithesis is interpreted in the light of the traditional thesis, and the synthesis immediately emerges.

It is this continuity, precisely, in all its newness of emphasis, which the 'translations' and the other treatises of the author of *The Cloud* bring home to us. The careful and accurate scholarship which Miss Hodgson has brought to bear on his writings enables us to penetrate with greater understanding the spirit of medieval spiritual theology: to estimate more exactly the immense value of the peculiarly English contribution to Western Mysticism.

JAMES WALSH, S.J.

**The Second Part of King Henry VI.** Edited by ANDREW S. CAIRNCROSS. Pp. liv+198 (The Arden Shakespeare [new and revised edition]. General editor: UNA ELLIS-FERMOR.) London: Methuen, 1957. 21s. net.

This edition rests substantially on the new, but not unpredictable, thesis that the F text of *2 Henry VI* was in part set up from an imperfectly corrected copy of the Bad Quarto (Q3 with some use of Q2). With this adroit explanation for the inequalities of the text, Mr. Cairncross simplifies the traditionally intricate arguments about the genesis and integrity of the play and gives refreshingly full attention to questions of reading and interpretation.

The introduction outlines the nature and history of the 'revision' and 'mutilation' theories and, after allowing space to the distinguished dissenters Malone and Dover Wilson, elaborates a version of Peter Alexander's argument. Greene's 'upstart crow' is again safely caged and the allusion read as an attack on Shakespeare as an actor-playwright, not as a plagiarist. If Greene meant to be equivocal the current debate testifies to his success. Mr. Cairncross adds York to the list of actor-reporters and thinks he used his 'part' for the closing speech of the first scene. We are again told that Pembroke's men prepared the reconstruction for a provincial tour but we are left in doubt (inevitably) about the status and authority of the reporters: if this is an authorized reconstruction, why is it so inferior to the quarto of *Richard III*? The suggestion that Shakespeare made some cuts in the acting version is acceptable but not demonstrable. Indications of censorship, however, seem distinct if not decisive. A few censored lines are retrieved in the present text but most are appended and the F versions conserved.

The scale of the Arden edition does not allow a full display of textual evidence, and, were it not for the broad prejudice in its favour established by Alice Walker, the case as presented here for Jaggard's addiction to printed copy would scarcely convince. Common sense would resist the persuasive instances of shared F and Q3 errors, of common mislineations and derivative stage-directions, on the ground that no printer was likely to find it convenient to turn from a playhouse autograph to a corrected quarto for the sake of twenty scattered passages of which only three exceed one hundred lines. Nevertheless, the instances are indeed persuasive and sufficiently justify the fifty significant new departures from the Folio.

Many of the changes are agreeably Augustan, making for smoother numbers and tidier logic. At I. i. 57-70, for example, the Cardinal's reading of the articles is made to conform with Gloucester's. At I. ii. 75 the F lines, 'With *Margerie Iordane* the cunning Witch, / With *Roger Bollingbrooke* the Coniurer', become (with the help of Hall and a Q blunder), '... the witch of Eie, / With Bolingbroke, the cunning conjurer'. Thirty lines of the Simpcox-Gloucester exchanges are recast as verse with the help of the Quarto, Pope, and six new readings. Some dozen lines are regularized by omitting or transposing words intruding in F from Q.

The most striking new readings include the addition from Q of the words 'by case' at I. iii. 204, the assignment of I. iii. 210 ('This is the law, and this Duke Humphrey's doom') to Henry, the restoration of the early Q 'dote' for F 'doe it' (from Q3) at II. i. 25, the readmission from Q1 of the apparently censored bastardy taunt against Winchester at II. i. 38, and the restoration and reassignment of a comment interrupting Suffolk at IV. i. 112. These are all supported by the Q3-copy argument, but other new readings are admitted under the current licence to correct the blunders of compositors A and B. Most are promoted conjectures: Vaughan's 'hour' for 'thought' at I. ii. 19 (B's stint), his 'strains' for 'strays' at III. i. 211 (A), 'stem' for 'stern' at III. ii. 90 (B), and 'thee' for 'death' at IV. i. 32 (B). Compositor B's 'reasons' gives place to Hudson's 'treasons' at III. i. 260, and his misreading 'the help of a hatchet' to Farmer's 'pap with a hatchet' at IV. ii. 85. The more painstaking compositor A must be blamed for the 'ground' corrected to 'grave' at II. iii. 18. Each 'improvement' is vindicated on its own merit and the rejected conjectures (e.g. IV. vii. 59 n.) show that the text might have been much less tactfully conservative than it is.

Source material is supplied from Hall with a passage from Fox for the Simpcox episode. Hall is said to have been 'the chief source', but Holinshed was used extensively too and for most of the play the choice is open. The point that Shakespeare owed something of his 'general interpretation' to Fox might have been taken further with fuller quotations, preferably from the 1588 edition (the spelling of the 1844 reprint used here looks odd alongside the Hall). The importance of Fabian seems to me overstated in the Cade scenes and that of Holinshed touched too lightly. *Jack Straw* deserves some attention too, and would supply a better gloss on 'Smithfield' than that from Froissart at IV. vi. 11.

Some of the more elementary notes (explaining 'methought' as well as 'methinks', rendering 'power' as 'army', 'doom' as 'judgement', and 'biting' as 'severe') suggest that Mr. Cairncross is aware of the distinctly reviving interest in the early histories. He has done much to encourage it.

J. P. BROCKBANK

**Shakespeares Dramen.** By MAX LÜTHI. Pp. 474. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1957. DM. 20.

If it is still possible to 'interpret' all Shakespeare's plays in one book, one of two methods seems advisable. Either one leans heavily on the critical 'tradition',

indicating alternative interpretations, and largely suppressing one's own views except in so far as they transpire from one's selection from earlier writers; or, presupposing the reader's familiarity with the 'tradition', one reinterprets the plays firmly from a personal standpoint. The former will be more suitable for the general reader, the latter for the specialist. Dr. Lüthi, unfortunately, addresses himself to the general reader (p. 7), but makes no attempt to give a rounded picture of his subject (though his wide grasp of modern Shakespeare criticism emerges casually from his asides). And not only is the 'tradition' pushed into the background: Dr. Lüthi examines only a few structural features in the ten or so pages available for each play, ignoring others perhaps equally important. Usually he concentrates on themes, parallels, contrasts, with special emphasis on 'appearance and reality', 'levels of meaning', fairy-tale patterns, and the distinctions between renaissance and baroque art. Where necessary he explains the psychology of leading characters, sometimes brilliantly, though rarely in great detail. But at the same time structural elements of some note (e.g. imagery) are often silently passed over, presumably because nothing new can be said about them.

Since Dr. Lüthi has so many new and exciting things to say about Shakespeare one feels that he has misjudged his market: he should have written for the specialist. His best perceptions, the full implications of which will be lost to the uninitiated, not infrequently have to do with minor characters or incidents—Cinna the poet (p. 30), the clown in *Othello* (p. 70), Jaques (pp. 250–1)—though occasionally too much is made of details. That the comedies following *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 'sämtlich die Überwindung von Widerspenstigen oder Exzentrikern zum Thema haben' (p. 206) seems a revealing generalization, but it should not be pressed too far. Dr. Lüthi has a gift for detecting correspondences in the plays, in themes or techniques, and these again will interest the experts:

In *Romeo und Julia* fragte niemand nach dem Ursprung der Familienfehde, in *Troilus und Cressida* werden Grund und Berechtigung des Völkerkrieges oft und eingehend besprochen. Wie jene Familienfeindschaft, so ist auch der Krieg der Griechen und Trojaner . . . eine Auseinandersetzung um nichtigen Grund. (p. 114)

Inevitably Dr. Lüthi's selective method becomes a little one-sided and tendentious. Even if this serves some of the needs of the general reader—it will certainly stimulate him—it may be doubted whether, under these circumstances, it was a good idea not to specify critical friends and foes when alternative interpretations are hinted at. Though Goethe's solution of the problem of Hamlet's delay is cited approvingly (p. 47), we find only one reference to Coleridge in the index (p. 448, grossly misspelt), and none to Bradley. The general reader may detest pedantry—who does not?—yet Dr. Lüthi's documentation could have been greatly improved without any fear of irritating the unlearned.

This weakness seems to have struck the author, who added an appendix of nearly sixty pages crammed with facts—summarizing what is known about Shakespeare's life, the historical and literary background, the texts of the plays, &c. Here we read that Queen Elizabeth died in 1602 (p. 433), that Marlowe's

*Edward II* was written in 1587/8 (ibid.), that Sir John Oldcastle was hanged in 1467 (p. 438), that Donne's lyrics were composed after 1600 (p. 409), that the Christian name of Peele the dramatist was Robert (p. 413), and so on. (Some of these mistakes must probably be ascribed to the printer, who stumbled over foreign words throughout: 'Disintegration' (p. 124), 'intoo' (p. 139), 'Magistrates' (p. 419), 'Nighths' (p. 426), 'Timothy Dright' (p. 428), 'Nigth' (p. 429), 'Righ' (p. 430), 'vivorum' (p. 433, for 'virorum'), 'Howard' (p. 453, for 'Hereward'), and many more.) The haste with which the appendix seems to have been thrown together is the more regrettable since the body of the book shows every sign of thought and carefulness, and makes some valuable contributions to our understanding of the plays.

E. A. J. HONIGMANN

**Studies in the Shakespeare Apocrypha.** By BALDWIN MAXWELL. Pp. vi+234. New York: Columbia University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1956. 34s. net.

Mr. Maxwell's book deals with four of the apocryphal plays—*Lochrine*, *Cromwell*, *The Puritan*, and *A Yorkshire Tragedy*. This means that a crude, though undeniably vigorous, tragic torso, a mediocre, but mildly amusing, citizen comedy, and two pieces of irredeemable balderdash have been given time, space, print, and subvention ludicrously disproportionate to their merits. The truth is that the apocryphal plays, with a couple of obvious exceptions, are interesting merely because on such and such occasions they were associated with the name of Shakespeare. This circumstance has no bearing on anything that can legitimately be termed Shakespeare criticism but, like Baconian ciphers and Lady Macbeth's children, relates only to the aberrations of several good and many bad critics. However, since research, the useful discipline of useless knowledge, must go on, we must presumably grant Mr. Maxwell a hearing.

Mr. Maxwell begins with a discussion of the title-page ascriptions. Pavier impudently claimed for *A Yorkshire Tragedy* that it was 'Written by W. Shakespeare': the other three plays purport, more modestly, to have been the work of 'W. S.'. Mr. Maxwell concludes that these latter ascriptions do not necessarily convict the three publishers responsible of fraud, that 'the substitution of the author's initials for his full name—a not uncommon practice—need not have been, although in any instance it may have been, with the intent of encouraging a mistaken identification with William Shakespeare'. This, of course, is perfectly true, but it renders much of the discussion which precedes it superfluous. Mr. Maxwell is not able to throw any new light on the characters or motives of the publishers concerned, nor does he extend our knowledge of Wentworth Smith, William Smith, William Sly, or any other W. S. There is, in fact, little point in dwelling on a pair of commonplace initials. A title-page ascription to 'T. K.' or 'B. I.' might justify conjecture: 'W. S.' simply does not signify.

Mr. Maxwell offers a capable analysis of the main sources of *Lochrine* and argues justifiably for revision rather than the telescoping of two plays. The *Lochrine*.

*Selimus* relationship is fully and intelligently explored, but Mr. Maxwell is unable to shed any light on Greene's supposed connexion with the two plays. The long sequence of hypothetical and disjunctive propositions which is applied to the question of authorship must surely exhaust all the possibilities, immediate and remote, but the conclusions are negative. Mr. Maxwell finds that *Cromwell* is well plotted up to the middle of the third act and is thereafter pathetically episodic, that 'different parts of the play reveal contradictory concepts of the nature and province of the chronicle play', and that these and other circumstances suggest that more than one author was involved. This is extremely likely, but I see little warrant for the additional hypothesis that *Cromwell* was originally a two-part play, since composite authorship could in itself account for all the observed inconsistencies. Too much space is given to the examination of palpably absurd attributions—to Heywood, to Greene, and to Drayton—and Mr. Maxwell comes nearer to recognizable practice and familiar pattern when he states the case for *Cromwell*'s having been written, in or about 1600, by Munday, Smith, and possibly Chettle. Chettle's participation is, I think, doubtful, for there is nothing in the play which remotely resembles his work in either quality or effect. Its soapy sentimentalities are certainly reminiscent of Munday, who is known to have been part-author of other plays dealing with the outstanding figures of the reign of Henry VIII, and there are tolerable *prima facie* grounds for supposing that he collaborated here, as elsewhere, with other obscure and ungifted hacks. The difficulty is that the title-page claims that the play belonged to the Lord Chamberlain's men.

Mr. Maxwell's chapter on *The Puritan* tells us little. The attribution to Shakespeare is, of course, repudiated, but such an observation as 'Shakespeare could never have written it during the years he was writing *Lear*, *Macbeth*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*' seems superfluous. But Mr. Maxwell's idea of evidence is often naïve. He notes, for instance, that *The Puritan* was acted by the St. Paul's boys and remarks that this was 'a company for which Shakespeare is known never to have written'. Inherent probabilities do not constitute knowledge, and the point is, in any event, doubtfully valid. Mr. Maxwell makes out a good case for dating the play 1606, even though much of it relates to the mythical exploits of George Peele. It is clear that *The Puritan* abounds in topicalities, but these are insecurely handled. Too much is made of the fact that the two servants, Nicholas St. Antlings and Simon St. Mary Overies, bear names which recall Nicholas Felton and William Symonds, ministers of St. Antlings and St. Mary respectively, for the resemblance may well be coincidental. The case for Middleton's authorship, as presented by Mr. Maxwell, is perfunctory and unconvincing.

The longest section of the book is, rightly, that devoted to *A Yorkshire Tragedy*. Mr. Maxwell discusses most of what is known or believed about the source, the points of contact with Wilkins's *Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, the status of the existing play in relation to 'the Foure Plaies in One' and so forth. There is a useful examination of material in the Hatfield House manuscripts relating to the circumstances of the crime and finally some negative and unhelpful comments on authorship. Here, as in his other chapters, Mr. Maxwell seems unwilling or unable to apply current bibliographical techniques. The 1608 quarto of



*A Yorkshire Tragedy* exhibits four salient characteristics: the play is a mere fragment; the first scene is obviously not related to the remainder; the characters are loosely designated 'Husband', 'Wife', 'Gentleman', and so on; the dialogue is untidily set out and sounds curiously unfinished. This, I conceive, implies that what Pavier acquired was a somewhat disorderly set of foul papers representing what was very much a first draft. If so, Mr. Maxwell's theories about objections by the Cobham family, the supposedly diverse character of the four plays in one, and the misplacing of the first scene are neither here nor there.

Mr. Maxwell's studies might have held their own as separate articles, or, with drastic reduction, they might have served as introductory matter, albeit incomplete, to a new edition of *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*. Publication in book form is, in my view, justified neither by subject-matter nor by treatment. The abstracts of plots are tedious and seem unnecessary, and there are many incidental superfluities which look suspiciously like padding.

J. M. NOSWORTHY

**Chapman's Homer.** Edited by ALLARDYCE NICOLL. Vol. I: The Iliad, pp. xxii+742. Vol. II: The Odyssey and the Lesser Homeric, pp. xvi+654. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957. 63s. net.

This first attempt at a variorum edition of Chapman's masterpiece has been carried out with what seems to be scrupulous accuracy and a good deal of consideration for the scholar, as well as for the general reader for whom it is explicitly designed. The old spelling is generally retained, but no one could reasonably quarrel with the exceptions, which are designed to minimize the modern reader's difficulties. All departures from the basic texts are listed. There are a number of interesting emendations, many of G. G. Loane's conjectures having been adopted. Punctuation is modernized throughout.

In the first volume, where the textual situation is the more complex, Professor Nicoll's basic text is the *Iliads* of 1611, of which he has used three copies. In the textual notes he lists the variants from *Seaven Bookes* (1598) and from the volume containing the first twelve books printed in 1608. The independent version of part of Book XVIII (*Achilles' Shield*, 1598) has been printed apart from the rest, and so have the versions of Book I and lines 1-468 of Book II which appeared in the 1598 and 1608 volumes, but were replaced by entirely new versions in the *Iliads* of 1611. In the textual notes for this printing of Books I and II (1-468) it is rather odd that no variants are given from the text of 1608, the editor having contented himself with printing the text from 1598, with indications only of where he himself has departed from this text. The survey of Chapman's work as a reviser which can be made with the help of the apparatus in this volume is therefore less than absolutely complete. Possibly more important, orthodox modern opinion might argue that the versions of Books III to XII as they are distributed amongst the 1598 and 1608 editions, where each one individually first appears, are nearer to Chapman's manuscripts of them than anything that appears in 1611. Mr. Nicoll does not precisely explain why he chose 1611 as the basic text for *all* the books of the *Iliads*.



The second volume contains the *Odyssees* from *The Whole Works* (1614-16). One copy only of this has been used. Finally, *The Crowne of all Homers Worckes* (? 1624) is reprinted. It is a pity that room was not found, if only in an Appendix, for the translations from Hesiod, Musaeus, and Juvenal, untouched by an editor since the days of the Reverend Richard Hooper.

Editorial material includes a Glossary and a Commentary. The former is long and good; it was an excellent idea to signalize with asterisks words and significations which occur for the first time here and often antedate the earliest citations in *O.E.D.* But the usefulness of the Glossary is much diminished by the failure to supply book and line references for the entries. Concordances are so thin on the ground that to produce a glossary which cannot be used as a partial concordance as well is to miss an opportunity, and sometimes genuine confusion can arise where one word (*cope*, for example, in the *Iliads*) has two or more quite distinct meanings. The Commentary is on quite a different scale from the Glossary. Mr. Nicoll has done little more than discuss a few of the emendations and clear up, by paraphrase or otherwise, some of the grosser obscurities of expression. He has made no attempt to work further along the lines already pioneered by such scholars as Miss Bartlett, Donald Smalley, or H. C. Fay, to the last of whom the edition, strangely, nowhere makes reference. More perhaps could hardly have been expected, although at first one reacts with disappointment and the feeling that yet another Chapman job has been half done. For perfection in the editing of a classic translation to be achieved, it must be printed side by side with the text or texts it renders. There seems no way in which this could be done for a work of this size and character that would avoid expense and elaboration as ruinous to purchaser as to publisher.

The volumes are externally handsome and very reasonably priced, but after many hours of tussling with them and with the necessity for looking in three different places at the back for textual notes, commentary, and glossary, I began to long for something less ponderous, even to hanker after the old Temple Classics edition, crammed and blackened with print though its pages were. The publishers would have been wiser to choose some format more approaching that of the Globe or Oxford Standard Authors series. As it is, a good deal of space seems to have been wasted on the textual notes, which are very lavishly set out over 140 pages. It is true that the appetite of textual scholars for their peculiar food becomes greedier all the time, but it seems unnecessary here for the editor to record every occasion on which he alters an ampersand in his original to the full form, or changes *Ile* to *I'le*; even some of the painstakingly recorded normalizations of proper names could have been done away with. If the textual connoisseur is not prepared to trust a general editorial statement of principle in such cases, and in a work so lengthy as Chapman's Homer, why should he trust his editor in the matter of punctuation? None of the punctuation variants is recorded here, and it would have been interesting to have some of those which affect meaning.

When all this has been said, it must also be gratefully affirmed that this edition is not only better in degree than all previous reprints, but vastly superior in kind. While things as great as Pope's Homer, Harington's Ariosto, and Fairfax's Tasso

still pine for want of an edition such as this, the judicial interpreter of Chapman is given a fresh impulse to survey his noblest structure and to gaze unrestrainedly upon 'naked Ulysses, clad in eternall Fiction'.

PETER URE

**Serial Publication in England before 1750.** By R. M. WILES. Pp. xvi+392. Cambridge: University Press, 1957. 50s. net.

The extent to which reading, and the ability to read, has existed in the mass of the British public at various periods has long been a matter of interest and speculation. Professor Wiles has now thrown much light on the period from the late seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth centuries.

His main theme, though he is pleasantly discursive regarding many marginal causes and effects, is the discovery by the publisher-booksellers of the later seventeenth century that by issuing a book in monthly or weekly parts or instalments an entirely new and unexpectedly large book-buying public could be reached. The stream of these 'number books' began as a trickle around the sixteen-seventies, and reached full spate in the seventeen-thirties, covering an astonishing variety of interests.

After a general survey, brief but competent, of the book market of the period, the author first gives detailed attention to such 'serials' as the regularly published series of volumes or booklets of 'celebrated plays', &c.; the publication of instalments of works of all kinds in successive issues of early newspapers; and the occasional change from integral instalments to separately printed 'supplements' capable of being collected and subsequently bound.

He then turns to his main interest—the books which were issued in weekly or monthly fascicules at prices, usually from a few pence to a shilling, low enough to tempt those readers who normally never bought a book.

These 'number books' cover a wide range of interests. Some were obviously catch-penny productions designed to appeal to the salacious, such as the *Apology for the Conduct of Mrs. Teresia Constantia Phillips* (1748); while others, much more numerous, were substantial works such as Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises* (1678), and Rapin's *History of England* in the original and in translation. Some were large works published for the first time in numbers, possibly as the only means by which they could appear in print; while others were reissues in parts of books previously issued in complete form.

Mr. Wiles describes the nature and contents of the more notable productions, and gives in much detail the relations between the authors, publishers, and book-sellers, and the sometimes extraordinarily complicated arrangements for sharing out the costs and profits. Sales were large, and there is ample evidence that this device of piecemeal publishing resulted in a great increase in the book-reading public and in a new and highly remunerative development of the publishing trade. Little attention has hitherto been given to this new growth, and Mr. Wiles has made a real contribution to the story of the book trade in England, and to the history of the spread of literacy two centuries ago.

His book is well equipped bibliographically. There is a valuable Appendix containing a 'Short-title catalogue of books published in fascicules before 1750', arranged chronologically and giving full bibliographical details. He also supplies a list of the booksellers, printers, and others who took part in the production and sale of 'number books'; a bibliography of the subject; and a useful note on those eighteenth-century dates which provide so many traps for the unwary. There are also nine reproductions of illustrative documents.

Much painstaking research has been given to the making of this book, but the author wears his learning lightly. His salty wit makes the mass of information he presents highly palatable.

J. D. STEWART

**A Note-Book of Edmund Burke.** Edited by H. V. F. SOMERSET. Pp. xii + 120. Cambridge: University Press, 1957. 18s. 6d. net.

**The Moral Basis of Burke's Political Thought.** By CHARLES PARKIN. Pp. viii + 146. Cambridge: University Press, 1956. 12s. 6d. net.

The Note-Book kept by Edmund Burke and his kinsman, William Burke, during the years 1750-6 has been used by students since the time of Prior and has been laid under increasing contribution during the last twenty years. It is now published for the first time in its entirety with explanatory comments by Mr. Somerset and a foreword by Sir Ernest Barker. The punctuation of the manuscript has been revised in the interest of clarity, but the use of capitals and, apparently, the spelling have been retained—a policy which is not likely to be disputed, but which might have been supported by a photographic facsimile of a page or two of manuscript in illustration. The pieces now published number twenty-four, of which Mr. Somerset is inclined to attribute nineteen to Edmund Burke, and five to William. For evidence he has relied partly upon ascriptions in the notebook, which attribute twelve pieces to Edmund and four to William, partly upon the handwriting, though William seems occasionally to have acted as amanuensis to Edmund, and partly upon internal evidence. The internal evidence will attract the attention of every reader, for there is a close resemblance not only to what Edmund Burke had already written in his weekly periodical *The Reformer* (Dublin, 1747), but to what he was about to write in *The Annual Register* and in the still more distant future. The value of the book lies partly in its evidence of the variety of Burke's literary interests at the outset of his career, and partly in its evidence of the consistency of his thinking. This would be enough to warrant the publication of a volume of juvenilia, for it is always interesting to watch the development of a great thinker and a great writer. But this volume offers more; it shows both promise and achievement. Sir Ernest Barker remarks that these pieces 'have, at times, the mannerisms of youth', and certainly they are not equal in merit. But what is remarkable is the maturity of style which has already been achieved. They seem to show a Baconian taste, and an almost Baconian skill, in aphorism, very suitable to a period of life when knowledge is still in growth. But as Bacon said of aphorisms, they are based on

some good quantity of observation, particularly on the behaviour of man in society; and in some of the best of these pieces, the aphorisms are already being organized into method. Both Sir Ernest and Mr. Somerset justly point out the influence on Burke of the long tradition of character drawing, and the character is the literary form in which aphoristic observations on men are most readily organized; but is it not remarkable that at a time of life when the witty analogy is most difficult to resist, Burke should have been able to assemble the observations without recourse to the conceit which had spread so infectiously over his seventeenth-century models? Young as he was, he had already recognized that the nervous energy of his style needed no decoration, as a typical extract from his character of the worldly-wise man will show:

His conversation is not without an agreeable pleasantry; but his mirth is usually dry and sarcastical. His way of loving mankind is but an intercourse of business; not of affection. For he neither loves nor hates anybody. When he marries he makes a good choice because he chooses without passion. Family and fortune he secures; and does not neglect those qualities that may make his Wife an useful and agreeable companion. He makes to her a good husband; but she has not a great deal of his attention; and when she dies, he has a loss of which he is not insensible; but not to that degree which may hinder him of reflecting that his eldest Son may have a better match by the removal of her jointure.

The choicest piece is also the longest, 'Several Scattered Hints Concerning Philosophy and Learning' (no. 19). We can not only admire the wisdom of the observations—'I am almost tempted to think we ought to learn not so much to cure our Doubts, of which we have too few, as to learn how to doubt'—but we can enjoy the first prospect of what is to come. Shelley rightly took some credit to himself for correcting the old notion of how poetry teaches: it 'strengthens the faculty which is the organ of the moral nature of man, in the same manner as exercise strengthens a limb'. But Burke had got there before him at a time when the more traditional view was generally held: 'the great powers of Eloquence and poetry, and the great Benefits that result from them, are not in giving precepts but creating habits. . . . For the mind when it is entertained with high fancies . . . is modelled insensibly into a disposition to elegance and humanity. For it is the bias the mind takes that gives direction to our lives; and not any rules or maxims of morals and behaviour.'

The anticipations of his own manner of thinking are numerous and remarkable. The political philosopher to come can be immediately recognized in such a passage as this:

I never would have our reasoning too much dephlegmatic, much less would I have its pernicious activity exerted on the forms and ceremonies that are used in some of the material Businesses and more remarkable changes of Life. I find them in all nations, and at all times; and therefore I judge them suitable to our nature, and do not like to hear them called fopperies.

It is this consistency in Burke's thinking over a long space of years which justifies the method adopted by Mr. Parkin in his essay. Burke is like his friend Johnson in that neither man wrote a formal or systematic exposition of the beliefs which governed his principal activity. We have no *Art of Poetry* from Johnson's pen

(beyond a single chapter of *Rasselas*) and no Art of Government from Burke's. Johnson preferred to make his views explicit as occasions called them forth, and for Burke, as Mr. Parkin remarks, 'general principles are only real so far as they arise out of actual events and circumstances and return to them'. But Johnson's critical utterances could be articulated, and indeed the attempt was made by Professor Jean H. Hagstrum in his *Samuel Johnson's Literary Criticism*, reviewed in this journal in 1954 (N.S. v. 200); Mr. Parkin now performs the same service for Burke's political thought. It is a concise, well-documented examination of his moral convictions, and is essential for the student of his works.

JOHN BUTT

**The Mask of Keats. A Study of Problems.** By ROBERT GITTINGS. Pp. x+178. London: Heinemann, 1956. 16s. net.

Mr. Gittings has already enriched Keats scholarship by an important study of the biographical connexions of the poems written in 1819 and their relation to Keats's reading at that period (*The Living Year*, 1954). The present volume is more in the nature of a series of unconnected appendixes to the former work; it deals with a number of lesser topics which could not be exhaustively handled within the framework of a chronological approach; the most detailed and fully argued essays are those on 'Keats's Debt to Dante', on the 'Bright star' sonnet, 'Troilus to Cressida' (on Chaucerian echoes in the 'Lines to Fanny'), 'Most Enormous Caf' (on the use of borrowings from Beckford's *Vathek* in the first *Hyperion*), and finally one on *The Cap and Bells* which is more critical and less devoted to establishing source material than any of the others.

Mr. Gittings's method is the same which gave its particular value and limitation to the earlier study: a thoroughgoing, unashamed application of *Quellenforschung*. To be sure, he is modest enough to acknowledge that to trace the origin of a phrase or idea in a poem to Keats's reading does not constitute a full critical account of the poem; but he does tend to press even the slightest, more conjectural evidence of reading very hard. Thus in the essay on Dante he begins by describing the significance of the markings in Keats's copy of Cary's translation of the *Inferno*, now in the possession of Mr. Louis M. Rabinowitz of New York; he then proceeds to set side by side just and interesting parallels between marked passages in Cary and *Hyperion*, and much vaguer resemblances. A fairly convincing case is made out for the influence of canto v on the Paolo and Francesca sonnet and *La Belle Dame*; this is based on the recurrence of 'pale', 'cold', &c., and on the idea that the four-syllable line in the ballad stanza was suggested by the abruptly stopped half-lines in Cary (pp. 30-32). On the other hand, the parallel between the obeisance Dante makes to Brunetto Latini in canto xv and the reverence paid by Thea to Saturn is extremely forced (p. 24): indeed Mr. Gittings has to justify the scanty common factors of the situation by an appeal to 'the tone of voice', overlooking his own excellent caution elsewhere against resemblances of tone that are often a matter of the ear that hears them or that spring from the common stock of imagery upon which all poets draw (p. 57).

Similarly the parallel made between the three short battle scenes at the beginning of *King Stephen* and the opening of canto xxii is of the most superficial kind. The words in Keats which Mr. Gittings claims are unconsciously repeated from Cary, 'demon' and 'stung', are used in different senses, and the latter in a very peculiar sense ('stung away again' for 'flung away'). But the 'small gnats' of *Autumn* are traced to the 'shrill gnat' of canto xxvi and it helps to account for Mediterranean features like vines being imposed on the landscape near Winchester. In this field where so much is intuitive conjecture, difficult to demonstrate, we can only ask for as many closely clustered parallels as possible, not detached hints: Mr. Gittings is most successful when he presents a series of related echoes which seems to argue the working out of a particular interest in Keats's mind at the time.

In the essay on 'Bright star' an argument for dating the sonnet as early as October 1818 is continued from *The Living Year*. There Mr. Gittings had stood by his audacious theory of a brief liaison between Keats and the mysterious Isabella Jones, and maintained that the poem was addressed to her and not to Fanny Brawne. Now he is content to be less controversial and to let the chronological argument stand alone. His case is based on reminiscences or developments of ideas in the letter to Tom from Scotland forwarded at this time to George Keats in America, the letter to Woodhouse of 27 October, and Keats's current reading of *Troilus and Cressida* (pp. 59-62). The contrast between the chameleon-like, characterless poet and the unchangeable attributes of Woman, the Sun, Moon, and Sea in the Woodhouse letter may well lead us into the mood of the sonnet. But why should it be assumed that because Keats read or wrote something at a certain time any poem echoing these thoughts must have been composed at or near to this very time? This seems to be the crucial flaw in Mr. Gittings's mode of reasoning about dates.

The long essay on *The Cap and Bells* makes an interesting attempt to interpret the characters as members of the Keats circle. But again many of the details betray the flimsy character of the argument. If Elfinan is Byron and Eban Hazlitt, why should the latter be attached to the former as a courtier? And the claim that stanzas xxvi-xxvii are a typical Hazlitt-like diatribe will not stand: they begin as invective but soften to mere reflection delivered almost as soliloquy; cf. xxix: 'Philosophizing thus . . .'. More valuable is Mr. Gittings's venture into pure literary criticism in this essay, when he remarks how humour and grandeur are usually separate compartments in Keats's poetry so that the sense of participation in all forms of life conveyed by the letters is rarely reproduced; by fits and starts *The Cap and Bells* shows the whole Keats, as does *Meg Merrilies* (p. 142). This is well said, though we may feel a kind of laboured frivolity in much of this poem; when Mr. Gittings lets himself see farther than a detective problem he is always worth listening to.

ROGER SHARROCK



**Letters of James Joyce.** Edited by STUART GILBERT. Pp. 438. London: Faber and Faber, 1957. 42s. net.

These letters are addressed mainly to Joyce's family, patrons, and publishers; their topics are royalties and copyright, Joyce's and his daughter's health, and the progress of the books he was writing. This might not appear to be very promising material, especially since Joyce rarely made any comment on literature, the arts, or public affairs, and was the most inaccessible of all the famous writers of his day. Yet what emerges is a rich and clear portrait of the artist in middle age (half the letters date from after his fortieth birthday), in places deeply moving. It is a record of struggle against disease, poverty, censorship, and the fortunes of war, redeemed from self-pity by Joyce's wry and fantastic humour. The letters also provide scattered but most valuable clues to the elucidation of *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*.

The editor and publishers of such a selection deserve our gratitude; and Mr. Stuart Gilbert will always be remembered as an old and loyal friend of Joyce's. It should nevertheless be said that this is an unsatisfactory piece of editing. There can, of course, be no objection to the omission of many extant letters or to the mutilation of some that are printed, since many of the people in Joyce's life are still alive. It is not apparent, however, why some fourteen of the letters to Miss Weaver on the progress of *Finnegans Wake* should have been left out (extracts from these can be seen in B.M. Add. MS. 47489). More serious is the charge that the text is unreliable. To prove this it is not necessary to consult the manuscripts, since the facsimiles opposite pages 262 and 352 show that there have been several errors of transcription. The first of these has four pairs of double quotation marks transcribed as single: this would be trivial but for the fact that the subject of the letter is punctuation, a subject that Joyce took seriously. The second facsimile has 'number seven' transcribed as 'number given' (which is nonsense), 'her, poor' as 'her. Poor', 'saltcellar' as 'saltcellars'. At the end there is a parody of 'Dolly Gray', the second line of which is read by Mr. Gilbert as '*Though it breaks my head to [illegible]*'. Joyce's handwriting was poor, but it is not hard to see that what he wrote was 'Though it breaks my heart to shreds / Tather attat': 'heart' from 'Dolly Gray', 'shreds' rhyming with 'beds' two lines later, while the omitted line is a roll on the drums; the italics are the editor's. These examples, together with many small blurs of sense throughout the letters, make one suspect that the text ought to be completely retranscribed for a second edition.

The footnotes and index are inadequate, even for an edition designed for the ordinary reader. The greater part of the second half of the book consists of letters to Miss Harriet Shaw Weaver, accompanying and commenting on various drafts and fair copies of *Finnegans Wake*; these drafts were recently presented by Miss Weaver to the British Museum (Add. MSS. 47471-89). Both the letters and the drafts are of the greatest help to anyone trying to understand that baffling work, and the letters are not intelligible without cross-references to the drafts. Yet Mr. Gilbert has failed to make any such cross-references, with the result that his text must often be as obscure to the uninitiated as *Finnegans Wake* itself. For



example, on 25 July 1926 (p. 243) Joyce writes that the passages in Part III 'connected with the Roderick O'Connor passage are respectively pp. 52, 53, 82, 83, 102'. Mr. Gilbert annotates this as follows: 'Of the typescript. See pages 380-2 of *Finnegans Wake*.' He does not tell us what the typescript is, or what are the passages in the published text of *Finnegans Wake* to which the typescript corresponds. In fact, the typescript is now Add. MS. 47484, ff. 123-51: pages 52 and 53 are now ff. 133-4, and they contain an early version of the passage on pages 497-8 of the published text, which is connected with the Roderick O'Connor passage on pages 380-2; this is an important clue to the symphonic structure of the book. Other passages of the letters that are inexplicable without reference to the manuscripts and published text of *Finnegans Wake* occur on almost every other page between 203 and 281 of this edition. Mr. Gilbert should have saved his readers the trouble of going to the British Museum to find out what they mean. The identification of persons leaves much to be desired. Although a footnote on p. 76 explains that Mr. Ezra Pound is the 'American poet and critic', many less familiar names are left unexplained: there is a mysterious literary critic indexed simply as 'Muir'. A brief check shows the index to be incomplete, omitting several references to Svevo, for example, and one interesting one to Mr. Samuel Beckett; it is also inaccurate.

M. J. C. HODGART

**Romantic Image.** By FRANK KERMODE. Pp. xii+172. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957. 18s. net.

This book is the most thoughtful approach to Yeats since the all too brief criticism of the late G. D. P. Allt. Professor Kermode's essay explores the intellectual background and formative elements in Yeats's theories of poetry and illustrates them in action in certain poems, particularly 'In Memory of Major Robert Gregory', 'Michael Robartes and the Dancer', and 'Among School Children'. Incidental illumination is shed upon other poems in the process, notably on 'The Two Trees' and 'Byzantium'.

Mr. Kermode's ability as a critic is best illustrated by his treatment of the four poems written by Yeats in memory of Robert Gregory; he realizes that Yeats's poetic theories are put into action sporadically, and that the critic must look for consistency in a suitably selective manner. He suggests convincing reasons why 'Shepherd and Goatherd' should have been undertaken, and why it remains a poetic exercise rather than becoming a living, organic poem like 'In Memory of Major Robert Gregory', where Yeats envisaged Robert Gregory as an artist figure, escaping from the dilemma of art in the lonely impulse of delight that drove him to his heroic death. By this treatment of his friend, by his incorporation into Yeats's dream, Yeats was enabled to scale upon the almost invisible scaffolding of *A Vision*'s thought new heights of magniloquence. Gregory became, as Mr. Kermode understands well and explains confidently, an image to be used in Yeats's own struggle between perfection of the life or of the work. He appreciates the very real conflict implicit in Yeats's images of self and anti-

self, in the doctrine of the masks, and even, paradoxically enough, in the solution achieved when thought and feeling coincide or, rather, are intellectually embodied in an image such as that of the dancer: of life in death, death in life.

Mr. Kermode has been concerned with what he calls twin concepts, of the isolated artist and the supernatural image, to the pursuit and capture of which he devotes himself. Focusing the earlier part of this essay upon Yeats is justified by saying Yeats recommends himself for the part, for his 'career continued with no significant deviation over the half century that separated the eighties from the outbreak of the last war; he spoke out; and he knew exactly the nature of his heritage'. There is, obviously, over-simplification here; but the path that led Yeats into hoping to dine with Donne at journey's end is retraced (especially on p. 148) in a particularly valuable way.

Mr. Kermode writes (p. 90) that if we wanted to study Yeats as hero 'we could dwell upon the astonishing pertinacity with which he faced and the integrity with which he solved a problem which can never be far from the surface of poetry in this tradition; the Image is always likely to be withdrawn, indeed almost any normal biographical situation is likely to cause its withdrawal—this is part of its cost. Coleridge was finished as a poet in his early thirties; Arnold's situation is in this respect rather similar. Yeats often faced the crisis; the *Autobiographies* show how often and how desperately, and many poems are made out of it. When poetry is Image, life must, as Yeats said, be tragic.' This passage suggests further comparisons with Donne. Both poets asked themselves questions, and both continued to pursue the answers and re-ask the questions with passionate intensity throughout their lives. Donne's questionings found a shape within his questing religion; Yeats's within his own stylized aesthetic. The dynamic poetry both wrote is based upon their common refusal to avoid—Donne's coffin, Yeats's attitudes in the face of death—the 'thinking body', the Elizabeth Drury image, the rag and bone shop of the heart, both begotten out of that preoccupation with finite beauty which is at once their self-renewing strength and their ultimate limitation. Mr. Kermode's final plea for Milton, and the long poem, is apt.

What is disturbing is a hint that for Milton to be 'in', Donne and the Metaphysicals must go 'out'. This would suggest a state of criticism akin to Irish wall whitewashing of some years ago, where the names of politicians appeared with the words 'up' or 'down' prefaced, according to the sentiments of the writer. There would be a lack of sufficiently catholic taste, indeed of humanity, in our critics if this were the case: the current shortcomings of overspecialized criticism, of 'great traditions', even of insistence upon undergraduates marking authors in order of merit before they have read enough to form such exclusive judgements, might imply that many excellent books written on Milton in the last thirty years had been written in vain. To agree with such hypothetical reasons for see-sawing eclectic reading would, however, be difficult for anyone brought up not only to form his own judgements on what he reads but to decide for himself what he is going to read rather than wait for a directive from some self-appointed pontiff. Mr. Kermode is obviously a critic of inclusive interests: that he should have felt it necessary to enter this plea for Milton in this particular way indicates the disturbing force of contemporary conformity in literary taste.

Mr. Kermode's allusive criticism is so stimulating it is a pity that some slips are noticeable in it. A reference to Constance Markievitz, mentioned on p. 51 as an emblem of the woman who barter the rich horn for an old bellows, is a misreading of 'A Prayer for my Daughter' where Yeats is referring in the eighth stanza to Maud Gonne, the 'loveliest woman born', a reference which adds greatly to the poem's depth of feeling. A reference to 'The Countess Cathleen' as expressing 'a private fear for a mistress' puts the young Yeats's chivalric feelings for Maud Gonne too strongly. A query is indicated (in view of other misprints) whether 'duly' or 'dully' is intended in the following passage from p. 22: 'The metaphysics of Coleridge crosses and divests the simplicity of what Wordsworth, preceded by the empirical psychologists of the previous century, and succeeded by J. S. Mill, had believed: namely, that the higher degree of sensory organisation which distinguished poets from other men was fundamentally only a way of seeing and feeling *more*, not of seeing and feeling *differently*, and that it was a morally dangerous gift because it made it hard for the artist to be dully cautious about the satisfaction of his sensual appetites.'

It is irritating to have, in a work of this scholarly nature, an inconsistent attitude to bibliographical references. For instance, there are four comments on Miss Marion Witt's work but no source is indicated, although another critic mentioned in the same sentence with Miss Witt has the name of his work supplied in brackets. The use of 'Intellection' (p. 151) and 'intuit' (p. 6) did not appear to the reviewer to convey any additional clarity to the meaning of a text which is occasionally unnecessarily difficult to comprehend at first or even second reading.

Apart from the new deeper understanding of Yeats which we obtain from Mr. Kermode there are other merits in *Romantic Image* which should be mentioned. Arthur Symons's work in explaining the ideas of the French symbolists is stressed, yet Mr. Kermode is sensible that Blake's influence is perhaps more important than that of the French poets. His work enriches our knowledge of the intellectual background of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century poetry.

A. NORMAN JEFFARES

**The Lion and the Honeycomb: Essays in Solicitude and Critique.** By

R. P. BLACKMUR. Pp. viii+310. London: Methuen, 1957. 25s. net.

Mr. Blackmur's subtitle and title (which means, approximately, 'Literature and how to get the good from it') make one open one's eyes: so do chapter-headings like 'The Artist as Hero; A Disconsolate Chimera', or 'The Loose and Baggy Monsters of Henry James'. The eye-opening is uncomfortable but salutary; in a style one reviewer has called 'agonisedly cryptic' Mr. Blackmur says important things. His mind often works at a level to which words seem inadequate, but it does work. His criticism has an American smack; it is ambitiously intellectual, intensely responsible and morally earnest, and almost (one would think) wilfully opaque in revolt against a culture of facile popularization. Mr. Blackmur writes of Henry James (a kindred spirit, as was Henry Adams) in terms appropriate to himself: 'The thinking and the writing were hard and full

and critical to the point of exasperation; the purpose was high, the reference wide, and the terms of discourse had to be conceived and defined as successive need for them arose.'

The 'high purpose' amounts to asking 'What can the literary mind do in a demagogic mass-culture?'. Mr. Blackmur demands the exactest intellectual integrity in face of the 'new illiteracy' of uneducated mass reading-power. He investigates the literary expatriate, concluding that even the stay-at-home must have something of the outsider in him in any conformist society. And he considers the interactions of morals and literature, in a difficult piece called 'Between the Numen and the Moha'—terms which sound like Asiatic exploration but actually mean 'the godlike and the cowlike', and define the area, at one edge transcendental and at the other quotidian, in which literature must move between moral prescriptions and daily sensuality, the former trying to impose a superior order, and the latter fighting to preserve the fertility of its chaos. Mr. Blackmur is an organizer of diverse material but not a system-maker; he is a literary critic so engaged in literature as the maximum rendering of life that he will not have systems or histories of ideas abstracted from it and miscalled literary criticism. Consequently he severely (and, for such a serried writer, eloquently) trounces Irving Babbitt; Babbitt 'made for himself a mind that was restricted to general ideas, and general ideas that could not refresh themselves, such was the severity of their order in the monkish sense, in the fount of disorder'. Mr. Blackmur also shares Lionel Trilling's anger at the Kinsey report for reducing sexual behaviour to inhuman statistics. There are wrong sorts of order (as well as right) which lay life out like a corpse; there are right sorts of disorder (as well as wrong) which preserve the freedom of nature. Right order and right disorder need each other, as do orthodoxy and heterodoxy.

Literature, particularly the novel, must in our religionless and traditionless society 'make a secular equivalent of the religious imagination', not by Arnold's high-seriousness-substituting-for-religion but by 'a continuous act of piety, a steady consciousness of charitable understanding, all the way from top to bottom'. From this depends Mr. Blackmur's criticism of the 'new critics' (of whom, of course, he is himself one). Fully appreciating the value of close semantic analysis he yet argues that such criticism overstresses rhetoric, how words work, and neglects what they work about—'all on the level of the psychology of language, all on what the words do to the material, and very nearly nothing on what the material does to the words through other than verbal modes of the mind'. 'We have to inquire what technical mastery stands for.' A group of essays, including that whose title the book bears, deals with this critical insufficiency in John Crowe Ransom, Cleanth Brooks, Kenneth Burke, and William Empson. We should now, Mr. Blackmur argues, cross Coleridge with Aristotle—Coleridge's verbal analysis with Aristotle's concern for the imitation of life: he presumably does not mean, though he seems to, that Coleridge was primarily a verbal analyst—he is rather taking Coleridge, via I. A. Richards, as originating the 'new' criticism's rhetorical interests. This does indeed seem the necessary route for critical advance though Mr. Blackmur oddly neglects Dr. Leavis, who has always been a long way along it.

In addition, as a sign of Mr. Blackmur's critical practice, there are strikingly good essays on Henry Adams, T. E. Lawrence, and Herman Melville (though some tiresomely elaborated ones on Henry James). Yet it must be admitted that the benefits of reading them have to be fought hard for, at a second, third, or fourth reading, and the style is singularly graceless. American scholars perhaps digest difficulties better than we do: one of the toughest papers was actually fed to a seminar group. The ordinary man can only murmur 'Say not, the struggle naught availeth', as he wishes Mr. Blackmur's nourishing fare needed less mastication.

A. R. HUMPHREYS

**A Handbook of English Grammar.** By R. W. ZANDVOORT. Pp. xii+352. London: Longmans, Green, 1957. 21s. net.

As one realizes from the familiar title, this work by Professor Zandvoort is by no means a new book. Published originally in 1945 as a grammar of English for Dutch students and in many respects as a comparative grammar of English and Dutch, it has demonstrated its extraordinary value by running into six editions in this bilingual form in the space of a dozen years (6th edition, Groningen, 1957). During this period it has become thoroughly established far beyond Holland, and it is probably the most important grammar of English as a foreign language for university use in north-west Europe. As a result of its growing appeal, a French version was published in 1949 (Lyon), translated and adapted by G. Bouvet, with the title *Grammaire descriptive de l'anglais contemporain*. Now the author has complied with suggestions from many sources for an edition entirely in English to ensure still wider use, including obviously use among the English-speaking peoples. It is a book which merits our attention on many counts, but not least because it has been thoroughly tested and repeatedly modified in the light of experience. In the present edition, Dr. Zandvoort has rightly used the same title as in the Dutch editions: in many respects it is closer to them (even to the third edition of 1948) than to the French version. It shares with the sixth edition the references to recent work and the replacement of examples no longer appropriate for one reason or another;<sup>1</sup> it differs from it for the most part not so much in any thorough-going adaptation as in the omission of the Dutch parallels and contrasts. These have frequently been replaced by a general reference to other languages; compare § 350 in the sixth edition, where the author discusses 'cases in which English uses an indefinite article and Dutch dispenses with it', with § 352 in the unilingual edition: 'cases in which English uses an indefinite article and some other languages dispense with it'. Such comparisons are not merely vestigial, one imagines. Their function so far as native English-speaking

<sup>1</sup> Compare, for example, § 21 of the 4th edition and the French version with § 21 of the 1957 editions. Not all the examples now admitted are equally fortunate, however. 'Jane is hearing Mary her lesson' (§ 93) seems somewhat marginal, and the example from Ecclesiastes (§ 65) is not altogether appropriate in a book described in the Preface as relating only to contemporary English.

readers are concerned is to provide an interesting (though very general) sidelight on the points at which English structure is unique or commonplace among related languages. It is likely, however, that their prime function concerns foreign (indeed, north-west European) students of English, and that it is such a public that the author has primarily in view. An end of this kind seems to inform observations like the following: 'As the rules of word-order in English and other Germanic languages have a good deal in common, we shall deal chiefly with those cases where they differ' (§ 681), a decision that can hardly commend itself to British and American students. It is suggested too by the use made of phonetic symbols, which sometimes indicate features of structure but which often merely indicate the pronunciation of words whose spelling might mislead the foreign learner. On the other hand, there is little in the book that the native student will not find of prime interest, and there is much (for example, excellent treatments of word-order and present-day word-formation) that he will look hard and long to find elsewhere so conveniently. It would seem that Dr. Zandvoort has gone a long way to meet the needs and interests of foreign and native reader alike.

In the Preface to the French edition, the late Professor Fernand Mossé very pertinently observed: 'L'originalité de cet ouvrage ne réside pas dans quelque théorie nouvelle ou révolutionnaire. M. Zandvoort ne l'a pas écrit pour démontrer une hypothèse linguistique. Non, son originalité, c'est son objectivité.' For many, the fact that this remains true will be a measure of the work's inadequacy, and they will regret Dr. Zandvoort's continued uninterest in the kind of theoretical basis for which post-Saussurian studies have prepared us. At least as many, however, will feel that there is still a good deal more value in a sound, traditional grammar which is as eminently practical as the present one. Among its many virtues, the objectivity noticed by Mossé is indeed worthy of first mention: it shows in the clear-sighted realism with which features in divided usage (such as concord with *none*, *either*, *neither*) are described, and also in the characteristically modest and balanced presentation of the views of other grammarians, notably Kruisinga, Poutsma, and Jespersen. But comparably welcome is the constant and sound attention given to distinctions between formal and informal, literary and colloquial usage, some of the judgements on which excite special admiration for the careful observation that has preceded them. The author is to be commended too for his praiseworthy attempt to embrace British and American English in his description, again with objective and mainly sound discriminations and eschewing value-judgements. This is an aspect of the book that could profitably be developed, and some of the tentative observations (for instance, in §§ 17 and 18) might be reconsidered. One or two other improvements may be suggested too. More could be done to demonstrate the structure of the language by placing increased emphasis on formal criteria; in §§ 22 ff., for instance, a sharper and more useful distinction seems possible than that achieved by an attempt to recognize 'subordination in meaning'. There are several welcome moves in the direction of formal distinctions already: the author frequently acknowledges the dominance of collocations over possible semantic analyses, and more could usefully be done in this way. Finally, although again the author is already aware of their importance, the grammatical functions of stress, juncture,



and intonation are not at present considered as thoroughly as they deserve to be; nor, when he takes appropriate account of such features (for example, in § 100), does he avail himself of the benefit which a precise notation would offer.

RANDOLPH QUIRK

## SHORT NOTICES

**Il dramma pre-shakespeariano: studi sul teatro inglese dal medioevo al rinascimento.** By AGOSTINO LOMBARDO. Pp. 232. Venezia: Neri Pozza, 1957. Lire 1,500.

This conscientious book is primarily an 'aesthetic' evaluation of the English miracles, moralities, and interludes, though elaborate footnotes pay continuous homage to scholarship. It offers few surprises; the author translates much that is commonplace into his 'aesthetic' dialect, and one usually knows what is coming next. For example, a comparison of the aesthetic merits of Bale's and Shakespeare's *King John* favours, in the end, Shakespeare.

In discussing the miracle plays, Sig. Lombardo attends to their 'immediacy of representation' and 'directness of description', which remind him of Tuscan primitives. 'The miracle-play', he argues, 'is the terrain upon which was effected, quite independently of the classical tradition, the passage from symbol to a concrete sense of the human and the real.' He gives exhaustive treatment to *The Sacrifice of Isaac* (Brôme Manor MS.), but for strategic reasons neglects its typological content. Similarly, in his treatment of the moralities (he claims for them a more complex 'reality' than the miracles) the author fights a Crocean battle against the 'grave aesthetic dangers' of the allegory so regrettably prevalent in these plays, and admires *Everyman* not only for its psychological resource but also for its partial avoidance of the 'chains' of allegory. There follow studies of later plays, especially *Mankind*, *Magnificence*, *King Johan*, and *Wit and Science*, to demonstrate how, among other things, humanistic influences take a hand in the task of preparing the stage for the Elizabethans. Finally, there is a long and rather dull chapter on *Gorboduc*.

Sig. Lombardo's enterprise may perhaps be judged from the occurrence in this unfamiliar context of such expressions as 'l'eliottesco correlativo oggettivo', and 'la jamesiana ficelle'. His feeling for English verse may, though somewhat unkindly, be considered in the light of his comment on these lines:

And with her hand—a wofull thing to tell!  
While slumbering on his carefull bed he restes,  
His hart, stabde in with knife, is reft of life!

in which he remarks the qualities of realism and precision, adding that we need not ask for bloodshed on stage when we have descriptions like this, 'precise as a photograph'.

FRANK KERMODE



**Supplement to Henry IV, Part I.** Edited by G. BLAKEMORE EVANS. Pp. [iv]+iv+122 (New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare). Washington, D.C.: Shakespeare Quarterly, 1956. \$4.50.

The multifarious comments here collected more than justify a review of the work of only twenty years (1935-55), for the cross references and arrangement invite admiration. Whether it was worth while collating the few texts of the period, which are readily available, is more questionable. Editorial second thoughts, less easy to track down, have apparently passed unnoticed (e.g. Ridley, III. iii. 54), though very little of general relevance has escaped. Perhaps Harold Jenkins's 'Shakespeare's History Plays' (*Shakespeare Survey* 6, 1953) deserved mention, if only because less useful 'surveys' find a place. Additions to and corrections of S. B. Hemingway's material, in the volume of 1936, remind us once again that even the best Variorum editions must be consulted with scepticism, though we do not therefore welcome them less gratefully.

E. A. J. HONIGMANN

**Henry the Fifth 1600.** Edited by Sir WALTER GREG. Pp. viii+54 (Shakespeare quarto facsimiles 9). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957. 25s. net.

Although numbered 9 the present volume is apparently the seventh to appear in this series of facsimiles of the twenty-three most important Quartos of Shakespeare's plays. Of the original Q1 of *Henry V* there are five known complete copies and one fragment. The present facsimile has been made from the British Museum copy. It includes facsimiles of the blank versos of the title and of the last page of the text (Sig. G3: all copies have G2 incorrectly numbered G3); but there is no facsimile of the entirely blank G4 which exists only in the Yale copy and is imperfect even there.

Although this is a 'Bad Quarto' with a short text—there are 1,622 type lines compared with 3,380 in the Globe text based on that of F1—it is none the less interesting and important since it is an actors' text. J. H. Walter (Arden edn., p. xxxix) believes that 'the Q version may well be based on a cut form of the play used by the company for a reduced cast on tour in the provinces', and this is in agreement with J. Dover Wilson (New Cambridge edn., p. 112).

The quality of the reproduction is good. It is not as clear as the original, but a comparison of the two has not shown any definition in the facsimile which is inadequate. The editor has, however, given a useful confirming table on p. viii of some readings in the facsimile which are not very clear. In general all features in the original are rather less distinct in the facsimile, as, for instance, the striking difference in the inking of A4<sup>v</sup> and B1<sup>r</sup> and the showing through of the printing of the title on the blank verso, but the facsimile is a thoroughly satisfactory reproduction.

It is a pity that information about the series is only given on the dust cover. The editor's name is not on the title-page and is only to be found at the end of the table on p. viii.

J. H. P. PAFFORD

**The Songs and Sonets of John Donne.** Edited by THEODORE REDPATH. Pp. lii+156. London: Methuen, 1956. 18s. net.

Mr. Redpath presents a modernized text of Donne's love lyrics, based on Grierson's, emended from time to time from manuscript copies. He provides a general introduction of some thirty pages and copious annotation. There are four long appendixes on particularly knotty points, and a select bibliography. The book is designed, its author says, for the use of Cambridge undergraduates reading for English honours and for the general reader.

Mr. Redpath has three fatal flaws as an editor: lack of any firm grasp of textual principles, verbosity, and exhaustiveness. If he wished to revise Grierson's text he should have done it properly. He merely tinkers with it. As an example of verbosity, let me give the note on the second stanza of 'Love's Exchange':

A stanza of some difficulty. I do not think its true sense is usually understood. I believe the meaning to be as follows: 'I am not asking now for any dispensation to counterfeit a tear, sigh, or vow; I am not asking you for an exemption from the law of nature. Such counterfeiting is an exclusive privilege belonging by nature to you and your train of followers; nobody should perjure himself unless he is one of Love's dependants.' The key to a true understanding of this stanza seems to me to be the word 'now' in l. 8. It is easy to misunderstand the stanza if this word is not given its full force. The point is that *now* that he is one of Love's dependants, the poet does not need dispensations and exemptions in order to commit perjury, since it is the natural thing for lovers to do this. It will be seen from my suggested interpretation that I do not agree with Grierson's view that 'minion' (l. 14) is used in the sense of 'one specially favoured or beloved'. I think it is used as meaning simply a 'dependant'.

While fussing over 'now' and 'minion', this note manages to evade the only real difficulty in the stanza. What is the 'law of nature' which the lover does not ask to have waived? Mr. Redpath's exhaustiveness leads him to explain what I cannot believe can need explanation for anyone with sufficient education to read Donne's poems at all, and to include in discussing passages all possible meanings which can be teased out of them, including any suggested to him by friends and pupils. Finally, he lacks an essential element in the equipment of an editor, wide-ranging reading. He seems to have nothing to bring to the elucidation of Donne's text but acquaintance with what has been written by other people on Donne and the *O.E.D.* Even so, his book could have been a useful bringing together of forty years of work on the Songs and Sonnets buried in articles and notes in learned journals, if he had curbed his rage for annotation, and striven for economy and precision. As it stands, it presents, I think, a hindrance rather than a help to the intelligent reading of these remarkable poems. Isn't it also a little absurd to preserve the spelling of the edition of 1635 in the title while modernizing the text?

HELEN GARDNER

**John Dryden.** By ANNA MARIA CRINÒ. Pp. 406 (Biblioteca dell' Archivum Romanicum, I. 50). Firenze: Olschki, 1957.

Apart from Pierre Legouis, Guido Fornelli, and Mario Praz, continental scholars have shown curiously little interest in Dryden. This book is a laudable attempt to illustrate the range of his literary craftsmanship in the context of 'il cosmopolitismo della cultura europea' in his day. It is a comprehensive, balanced, and scholarly introduction, showing sympathy as well as familiarity with an awkwardly 'proteiforme scrittore'. Dr. Crinò's critical judgements are always perceptive and sometimes provocative. Her weaknesses are a tendency to substitute summary for analysis (are the *plots* of Dryden's plays important?); reliance on modern critics at the expense of Johnson and Scott, who remain Dryden's finest interpreters; and a temptation to deal with large issues in too little space. Her discussion of the great bulk and variety of the translations is sometimes trifling. She does not always understand the satiric temper and the sudden humorous shifts of tone in her author.

The book contains quotations from Italian diplomatists at the Restoration court which are of interest to British scholars, and a splendid reproduction of the Kneller portrait.

JAMES KINSLEY

**Blake's 'Marriage of Heaven and Hell'. A Critical Study.** By MARTIN K. NURMI. Pp. viii+64 (Bulletin 3). Kent, Ohio: Kent State University, 1957.

This is an admirable piece of work, which no student of Blake should neglect. A preliminary section discusses the 'contraries' and 'spiritual sensation', the latter delightfully illustrated by the first Butts poem. There follows a brilliant explication of the *Marriage* itself, its structure, purpose, and meaning. The book is vigorously written, quite free from obscurity or academic jargon (though I deplore the ugly and unnecessary American habit of saying 'all of' instead of 'all').

Mr. Nurmi is a young man. His further contributions to the elucidation of Blake should be eagerly awaited.

H. M. MARGOLIOUTH

**Enitharmon. Stellung und Aufgabe eines Symbols im dichterischen Gesamtwerk William Blakes.** By HENRI PETTER. Pp. xii+162 (Swiss Studies in English 42). Bern: Francke, 1957.

This is a doctoral thesis. Dr. Petter's preliminary bibliography has some oddities of date, e.g. there is no indication that the 1906 edition of Swinburne's *Essay* was not the first: the same applies to the 1948 edition of Mona Wilson's *Life*. Dr. Petter works steadily through the poetry and some of the prose in the 1948 edition of Keynes's one-volume *Poetry and Prose*. Blake's pictures and Blake's reading are ignored, and so, in the main, are Blake's expositors and commentators. The problems of the constructional history of individual poems are untouched. On balance this limitation is to the good. Dr. Petter does not, of course, confine himself to Enitharmon: that would be impossible. He reports in objective detail what she and other Zoas and Emanations do, say, and experience. He is unhampered by any preconceived theories or supposed systems. His eye is all the time on Blake's words, and his singleness of vision (not single vision in Blake's pejorative sense) produces results. Students of Blake, bemused by overmuch theory or erudition, can here turn to the German to revivify their perception of the facts. Even if they do not always see eye to eye with Dr. Petter, the disagreement will serve to make plainer to them what they do see.

H. M. MARGOLIOUTH

**Reminiscences of Sir Walter Scott's Residence in Italy, 1832.** By Sir WILLIAM GELL. Edited with Notes by JAMES C. CORSON, Introduction by G. H. NEEDLER. Edinburgh: Nelson, 1957. 10s. 6d. net.

When Sir Walter Scott visited Italy in a vain search for health in the spring of 1832, one of his most attentive hosts was Sir William Gell, author of many topographical works on ancient Greece and Rome and a prominent English resident at Naples. Gell compiled some *Reminiscences* of the visit and, at the request of Scott's daughter, sent them to Lockhart, stipulating that if they were used at all they should be printed in their entirety.

In fact, Lockhart made his own selection and printed about three-fifths of the whole, apparently without consulting Gell. But Gell's own copy later came to light in Toronto and was published in Canada with an introduction by Professor G. H. Needler in 1953. The manuscript has, very properly, been transferred to Abbotsford and is now printed for the first time in Great Britain with notes by Dr. J. C. Corson.

Affectionate care has been lavished on this edition and the notes and illustrations are excellent. Lockhart appears to have treated the manuscript in a somewhat cavalier fashion,

though one can sympathize with him in some of his omissions. Like other early nineteenth-century editors, he had no textual conscience and gave no indication that he was picking and choosing. He might well have retained, for instance, Scott's account of his review of Howard Douglas's essay on military bridges:

I was once charged to write for the Review an article on bridges. . . . Well, I was quite sure I knew nothing about bridges, but as my commission went to that subject I began with Milton's bridge from earth to heaven, and I spun that out till I was tired. . . .

Sir Walter was a very fine spinner.

S. C. ROBERTS

**Tarheel Talk. An historical study of the English language in North Carolina to 1860.** By NORMAN E. ELIASON. Pp. x+324. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1956. 40s. net.

No one knows for certain why North Carolinians are called Tarheels. *The Dictionary of American English* defines a Tarheel as 'A native of the pine barrens, esp. of North Carolina', and provides this piece of popular lore among its citations:

1869 *Overland Monthly* III. 128 A brigade of North Carolinians . . . failed to hold a certain hill, and were laughed at by the Mississippians for having forgotten to tar their heels that morning. Hence originated their cant name, 'Tar-heels'.

That there are other explanations can be confirmed by inquiring of North Carolinians themselves.

A very large number of local records gathered at the University of North Carolina under the general title of the Southern Historical Collection have been examined by Professor Eliason for this regional and historical survey. (Edward A. Stephenson, 'Linguistic Resources of the Southern Historical Collection', *American Speech*, xxxi (1956), 271, reports the present Director as saying that the Southern Historical Collection 'now holds more than 2,800,000 items, arranged within 3,233 individual collections or groups'.) They range in date from the second half of the seventeenth century to 1860, and exhibit great diversity of quality, from the formal correctness of the early lawyers and clerks to the bare literacy of an 'agitated Bladen County youth' in 1853 ('I wil burn his damd ass of with tar and his Boys to tha cant sker this chicken', p. 140). The magnitude of the task will be readily appreciated, and Mr. Eliason admits that the material was so abundant that he 'had to skim much of it hastily' (p. v). His task was rendered all the more difficult by the need to provide some sort of bibliographical description of the unprinted sources as well as to interpret and evaluate their contents.

Some useful minor lexicographical material has been recovered, including earlier instances than those cited in the *O.E.D.* for *flat-iron* (1786, *O.E.D.* 1810), *to feel small* (. . . humiliated) (1795, *O.E.D.* 1840), *to walk out with* (. . . keep company with, of lovers) (1827, *O.E.D.* 1876), *weakhanded* (. . . understaffed) (1766, *O.E.D.* 1817), and a number of other words. Yet now that there are three large dictionaries of historical English and American usage (the *O.E.D.*, *Dictionary of American English*, and *Dictionary of Americanisms*), anyone attempting to supplement the information about American English in one of them will often find that his quotations are later than those cited in one or both of the others. Thus Mr. Eliason cites from his collections earlier examples than those in the *Dictionary of Americanisms* for *barshare* (1799, *D.A.* 1820) and *comfort* (. . . counterpane) (1836, *D.A.* 1844), but even earlier instances may be found in the *O.E.D. Supplement* and the *Dictionary of American English* (*barshare* 1785, *comfort* 1834).

The book, as the title itself rather suggests, is written mostly in non-technical language for the general reader.

R. W. BURCHFIELD

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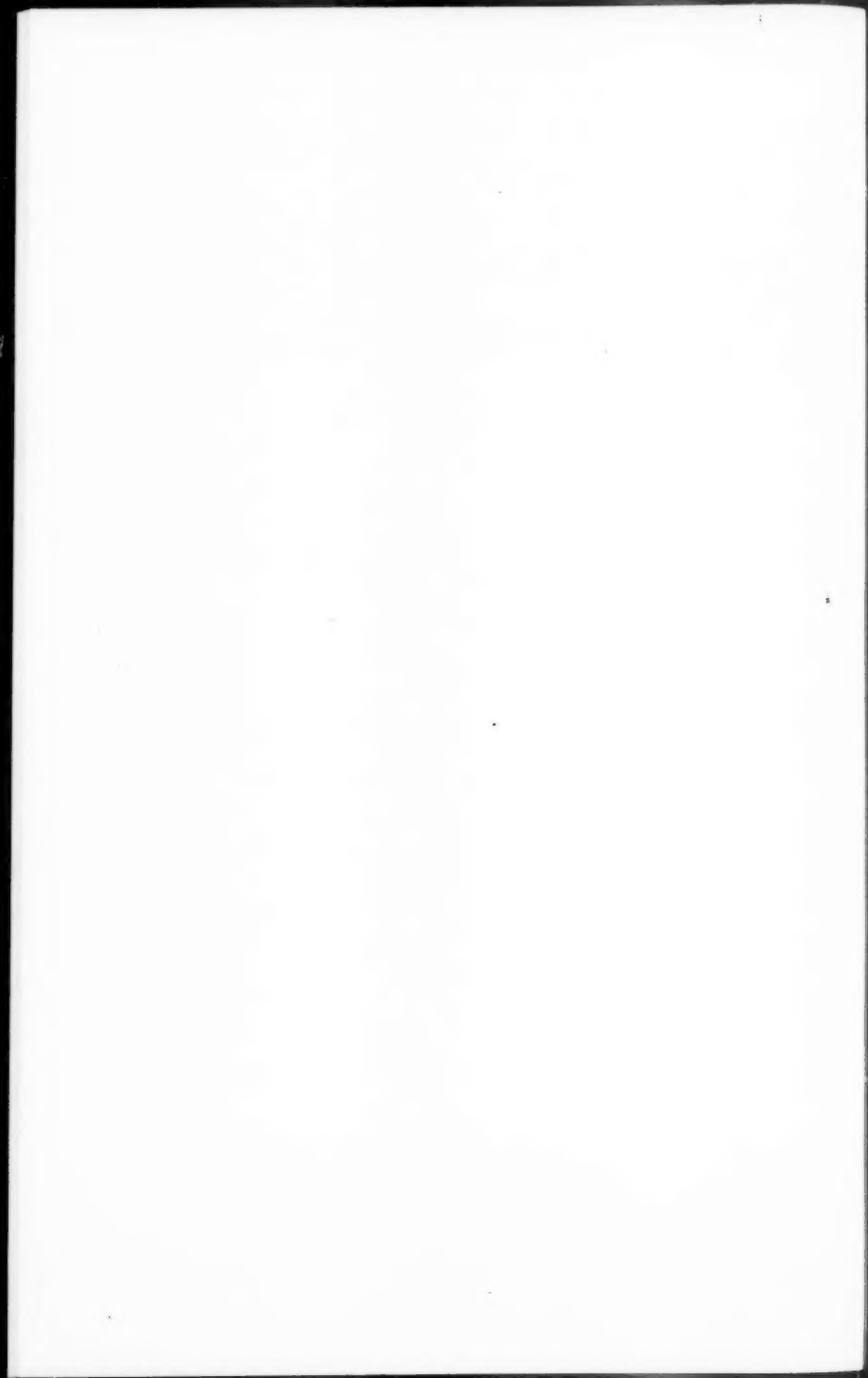
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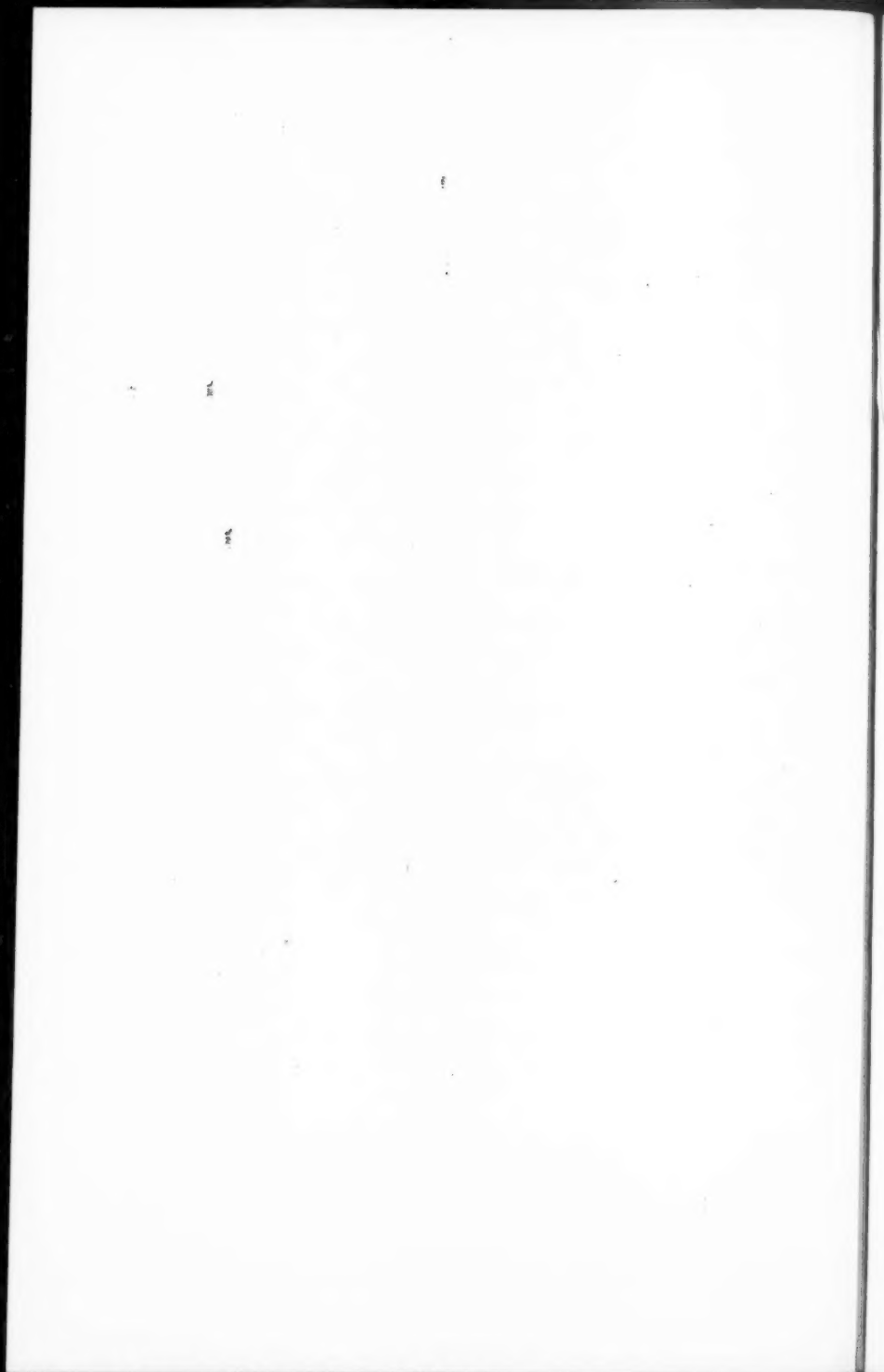
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